THE NATION
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East Orange, N. J.

The Claimants of Hiroshima

Five Plaintiffs, International Law and the Failure of Moral Imagination

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LETTERS

Lincoln letter

Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of Feb. 17, 1964, you published my "Lincoln Rejects a Bodyguard," based on a quoted unpublished letter of January, 1861, which turned down the offer of an armed bodyguard for Lincoln's inauguration. Since then I have been in correspondence with Roy P. Basler, Director of the Reference Department at the Library of Congress and widely known Lincoln authority, who believes that the letter was written solely by Lincoln's secretary, John Nicolay.

The letter is certainly in Nicolay's hand, as I explained in my comment, but I had maintained that it had been dictated and/or authorized by Lincoln as an expression of his reaction to the offer. Dr. Basler considers this an unjustified assumption and maintains that "The letter is an example of numerous similar documents rejected from the Lincoln canon because there is insufficient evidence that Lincoln either wrote or approved their contents."

Since his view is based upon a much more thorough study of the Lincoln canon than my own, may I ask that his opinion be announced in *The Nation*? Although I still believe it is Lincoln's letter, I do not speak for Lincoln scholars. Since everything that Lincoln wrote or might have written is subject to such widespread attention, it is fitting that *The Nation* not seem to authenticate as by Lincoln a letter which Lincoln authorities cannot fully accept.

C. Carroll Hollis
University of North Carolina

The ugly ad man

New York City

Dear Sirs: In his review of Arthur F. Meyerhoff's *The Strategy of Persuasion* [*The Nation*, Feb. 1], much of what Mr. David Cort says about Madison Avenue men and slogans is true. However, Mr. Cort's snide tone and sanctimonious comments might aptly be termed "liberal bigotry." . . . If Mr. Cort troubled to leave his desk, he might even meet a few on The Avenue who refuse to sell love potions, war toys or cigarettes. . . . Mr. Cort also suggests that action influencing foreign policy should be left only to experts (not Madison Avenue types). . . .

In this context, perhaps he, as well as *The Nation* editors, should take a look at a Madison Avenue peace effort—the Citizen Exchange Corps, formerly, the Peace Hostage Exchange. Its efforts toward massive, constructive American-Soviet citizen exchanges have recently been approved by the U.S. State Department and by Soviet organizations. Ugly Madison Avenue people and techniques have been used to promote this program. In the meantime, many "liberals" who advocated such exchanges refused to assist in this program rather than risk the stigma of association with such crass communication techniques. . . .

Should Mr. Cort or *The Nation's* editors wish to meet a few Madison Avenue peace activists, we'll be happy to make the introductions. And even though we want to bring you close enough to see ad men as individuals—have no fear—we won't try to persuade your sisters to marry them.

Stephen D. James, President
Citizen Exchange Corps

Outdated sulk

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: The article on Paris-Peking trade ["Marianne and the Dragon" by Jan S. Prybyla, *The Nation*, Feb. 1], read in the light of recent newspaper accounts of French demands for our gold in exchange for our dollars, heightens the suspicion that de Gaulle may be able to make considerable progress toward restoring French *gloire* and shortening the "American century" if we don't face some of the facts of life. . . .

Growing trade of the "intermediate-zone capitalists" with China and such other Communist lands as Cuba, while we remain frozen in a cold war in which Europe no longer believes, increases the probability that there's a new world a-building in which we shall have a shrinking role unless we thaw out the business brains and business muscles that made us wealthy in the first place. We are—or were—both shrewd traders and outstanding producers, but we are not so much better in either role than our European cousins that we can afford to sulk in an outdated moral indignation while they build bridges to a peaceful, prosperous world. *Helen Bugbee*

New order in Brazil?

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: "Brazil: Suppressing the Future" by Ronald H. Chilcote [*The Nation*, Nov. 23], seems a good example of work produced by someone who travels to a foreign country in order to "confirm" pre-conceived ideas. . . . He states that the present government of Brazil is neither revolutionary nor progressive. And it is not revolutionary "because there has been no profound modification of the political, social and economic structures." It thus seems that: (a) Mr. Chilcote wanted a profound modification of all Brazilian life in only seven months; (b) in his view there is no revolution through evolution. . . .

The author does not mention that the government's bill on land reform was in its final discussion in Congress when he wrote his article (and has since been approved). He conveniently forgets that two government bills for reform of the taxation

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The Crossroads

President Johnson has let it be known that he has "full confidence in Ambassador Taylor and will retain him there [in South Vietnam]." Somebody should have caught that one before it got on the White House press wires. Is not Mr. Taylor our ambassador to a sovereign power which we are trying to save from Communist enslavement? If so, like any other ambassador he serves only at the pleasure of the government to which he is accredited. If that government is disenchanted with him—for whatever reason, good or bad—it can ask our government to recall him, and recalled he must be. We can show our annoyance in various ways, but we cannot decide ex parte that Mr. Taylor is to stay in Saigon, merely because he has the President's confidence.

The press is also given to understand that McGeorge Bundy is visiting South Vietnam on a fact-finding mission. The cardinal fact can be discerned from Washington with the unaided eye, and is known to our enemies and allies alike: we intervened in a revolution, and our side is losing. North Vietnam has also intervened, although to a far lesser extent, but they have a great advantage over us—they are Vietnamese, and Asians. Even if our intentions were of the best, the situation has been compared to a Chinese sheriff trying to keep order in Tombstone, Ariz., in the 1870s. Whatever Mr. Bundy brings back from Saigon, these facts will not be altered.

The new element in the Vietnam imbroglio is the February visit of Premier Kosygin to Hanoi. His mission would seem to be primarily military. There can be no doubt that the North Vietnamese are more than a little worried about possible large-scale U.S. attacks on their industrial and military installations. They would like more advanced weapons systems, in particular the latest surface-to-air missiles which the Russians are in a position to supply. So doing, the Russians can show their revolutionary solidarity with a small Communist country, outbid the Chinese, and begin to re-establish their prestige in Asia. They will have to reckon with both the Chinese and the Americans, but they will be negotiating from a position of strength—if the North Vietnam Government accepts their military aid.

These maneuvers might be advantageous to the United States also. Our objective must be to withdraw from Vietnam with a semblance of dignity, and once the two severed halves of the country have somehow reunited, to keep the federation (and the rest of Indo-China) neutral if possible. In this connection, the President might well ponder the discussion by Bernard Fall, an expert on Vietnam well known to *Nation* readers, on the January 31 *Meet the Press* TV program. Fall suggested that bombing North Vietnam might be disastrous all around. The North Vietnamese would suffer, but they could retaliate by plunging south with their well-trained divisions. Win, lose or draw, we would be engaged in a full-scale war on the Asian continent. But if we negotiated a settlement, then our deterrent power could be brought into play—as in Germany, as in Korea. As long as we fight on the side of a disintegrating country, all our military measures come to naught, but if stability were restored, and we were out of there, our threat of retaliation if the North Vietnamese should try to swallow the South would be persuasive. The view that withdrawal would mean total loss is the very opposite of Fall's realistic appraisal.

Almost all American policy in Southeast Asia has been based on lugubrious assumptions, the chief one being that the North Vietnamese and the Chinese Reds are loyal allies. Theirs, like all alliances, is strictly a matter of momentary convenience or necessity for both sides, and it comes after centuries of subjection and enmity. The Soviet intervention may loosen the tie which currently binds Hanoi to Peking. With Soviet aid can come a measure of guidance and restraint; it is not in the Soviet interest to see North Vietnam under complete Chinese dominance, any more than it is to have the war escalate—a threat which becomes increasingly dangerous as the situation in South Vietnam continues to disintegrate. By bolstering North Vietnam's position vis-à-vis China the Soviets can set the stage for a negotiated settlement—if that is the purpose of the Kosygin mission to Hanoi. And if that is the purpose, the mission is well timed precisely because American policy is now at the crossroads.

Break It Up!

For fifteen years foreign-aid legislation has been pushed through the Congress under false pretenses. Last October, Sen. J. W. Fulbright warned the State Department that he would not again floor-manage the bill unless it was divided into separate military and economic programs. At the same time, he expressed his conviction that aid should be distributed not by the United States directly but through one of the existing multi-national agencies. But Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D., Pa.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, persuaded President Johnson that drastic cuts were inevitable unless the bill was presented in the usual camouflaged form. In effect, Representative Morgan was saying that deception was indispensable to move foreign-aid legislation through the House and the Senate. Senator Fulbright has performed a signal service both to the country and to legitimate aid programs by carrying out his threat and thus dramatizing his disagreement with the President and those Congressmen who go on the premise that all of the people can be fooled all of the time.

The President and the Secretary of State would have been well advised to listen to Senator Fulbright's earlier protest. They have now got themselves into an embar-

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rassing position. Sen. John J. Sparkman, with manifest reluctance, has consented to take Senator Fulbright's place. Sen. Mike Mansfield, the third ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, shares Senator Fulbright's views. Of the remaining committee members, Sen. Wayne Morse has been one of the chief opponents of dishonestly labeled foreign aid in the past, and Sen. Russell B. Long is almost as antagonistic as Senator Morse. The bill is crippled before it is introduced.

For the most sordid political reasons, successive administrations have elected to wrap up military and economic aid in one big package, thus representing it as a military measure, vital to national security, and at the same time a token of Uncle Sam's overflowing kindness to needy nations. The latter argument was calculated to appeal to uncritical liberal opinion, the former to those who believed in the unfailing efficacy of weapons, as long as the receiver avowed hostility to communism. It would be hard to say which argument was the more dishonest. The usual allocation as between arms and aid was about 50-50, but in both categories the bill was one of the more repulsive creations of the cold war. With the mail from angry, unemployed constituents piled on their desks, Congressmen could not be persuaded to vote for foreign aid unless they could plead that military assistance was vital to our national security and interdependent with economic assistance. Actually, there was only the most tenuous connection, and sometimes none at all. The military donations were handed out to generals, admirals and dictators whom the State Department has wished to cultivate from time to time. These potentates used the arms for two principal purposes—to threaten their neighbors and to keep their own poverty-stricken populations in subjection. The whole operation has been a recurring travesty, as distasteful under one party as under the other.

As Senator Fulbright argues, military aid should be limited to countries that can make an actual contribution to the defense of the United States. Then it should be transferred to the Department of Defense budget, and justified (if it can be justified) on purely military grounds. Economic aid should be broken down into grants and loans. The President's foreign-aid message stressed that two-thirds of all development loans go to seven countries, two-thirds of military aid goes to eleven countries, while other aid programs involve no less than ninety countries. These allocations show what a mare's nest foreign-aid appropriations have become. On top of this, the legislation has been loaded down each year with dozens of Congressional amendments and foreign-policy pronouncements, most of them irrelevant, disingenuous or ridiculous.

The President has made a mistake in presenting this hodgepodge to the Congress at the beginning of his first elected term. If he persists, the bill will be torn to pieces, and whatever good it contains will be lost. The only honest and practical procedure would be to separate it into its constituent parts, which could then be passed or rejected on their merits.

The Siege of Selma

Martin Luther King is incontestably the finest tactician the South has produced since Robert E. Lee. Although he does not need it, he receives considerable aid from the stupidity of his opponents. Their responses are so predictable that Dr. King and the admirable Dr. Abernathy—his Stonewall Jackson—can plan a campaign far in advance, knowing with the utmost precision what the opposition will do. United Press International got hold of a six-page order of battle prepared weeks ago by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by Dr. King. The document outlined comprehensive plans for the defeat of the state of Alabama, featuring a civil rights drive which would result in mass arrests. "Arrests should continue over months," the document read, "to create interest in the freedom registration and freedom vote. After Dr. King is in jail, a letter dealing with bombings, violence, not being represented, etc., should be distributed to Negroes in Alabama." Shown this memorandum, an aide remarked: "Dr. King likes to write things down on something like this."

However, not everything can be foreseen even by the most astute commander, and the individual clash between Mrs. Annie Lee Cooper (226 lbs.) and Sheriff Jim Clark (220 lbs.) was not part of Dr. King's plan. Mrs. Cooper was standing on the registration line and, in the hearing of the Sheriff, complained of the police treatment of an arrested civil rights worker. "There ain't nobody scared around here," she commented. She contends that Clark pulled her out of line and twisted her arm before she hit him. There is agreement on what happened after that: "She knocked hell out of me," Clark says. Three deputies came to the aid of their chief, and with approximately 800 pounds of white Southern chivalry arrayed against her Mrs. Cooper was subdued, the wounded Sheriff personally belaboring her with his billy club while she lay on the ground.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, the NAACP and the Department of Justice clashed in U.S. District Court in a suit that seeks enforcement of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, which says that states shall lose Congressional representation in proportion to the number of persons denied the right to vote. The defendant is the Census Bureau, which has not attempted to comply with the constitutional provision since 1870. Many attorneys feel that this is the "sleeper" in the civil rights struggle today, and that states like Alabama will permit their Negro citizens to vote rather than lose their Congressional seats. But the Department of Justice is apologizing for the Census Bureau's negligence with the lame argument that obtaining statistics on the number of persons denied the right to vote would be too expensive for the Bureau's budget. "I suppose given enough money, almost anything can be done," the Justice Department's attorney told the court.

Officials of the state of Alabama must be much encouraged in their defiance of the Constitution when

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they see it violated by subterfuge in the nation's capital. Now that he has been appointed Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach should instruct his staff to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, instead of blocking its enforcement by legal quibbling. Otherwise Dr. King's tactic of deliberately courting mass arrests —1,300 in Selma as we go to press—is the Negro citizen's only remedy.

John Birch versus PTA

Recently Mrs. Jennelle Moorhead, president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, explained at a press conference why her organization found it necessary to distribute 100,000 copies of a pamphlet on "Extremist Groups." Mrs. Moorhead, revealed that since October, 1960, the John Birch Society has been conducting an assault on the PTAs, not entirely without success. In that month the Society's *American Opinion* instructed members: "Join your local PTA at the beginning of the school year, get your conservative friends to do likewise, and go to work to take it over. You will run into real battles against determined leftists who have had everything their own way. . . . When you and your friends get the local PTA groups straightened out, move up the ladder as soon as you can to assert a wider influence." (However inconsistent with America's stated social values, infiltration is a game both sides can play; see p. 169, this issue.)

A few months later, after "informed sources" had objected that the "left-wing grip" on the national PTA was unshakable, *American Opinion* agreed that perhaps the more realistic course for "Americanist parents" was to join local School-and-Home Clubs or other "parallel" organizations. Nevertheless, the faithful have captured an estimated 100 local PTAs and taken them out of the national organization. This is not much of a dent in some 47,000 local chapters, with a membership of 12 million, but the national PTA felt that some prophylaxis was in order, especially in states like California and Florida, parts of which suffer rampant Birchism.

One might think that the PTAs would be the last organization that could be attacked for the taint of leftism. In an article in the October 5, 1963, *Nation*, "PTA: the Irrelevant Giant," Prof. William C. Kvaraceus quoted the yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, which dismissed the National Congress as an organization having "upper-middle-class leadership and a middle-class membership"—something like the American Legion, apparently. But everything is relative and, from the John Birch standpoint, the PTAs are a bunch of pinkos at the very least. They are, in general, in favor of the United Nation (in John Birch terminology, "fostering world government"); they are usually in favor of fluoridation to reduce dental caries in children ("poisoned water supplies"), and many teachers with PTA connections acquiesce in or even promote school desegregation, a violation of the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race. Other accusations include supporting "extended welfare aid to foster illegitimacy" and pushing "communistic-tainted textbooks for left-wing authors."

In all this clamor the PTAs are merely a means to an end: Mrs. Moorhead is entirely right when she says, "They're after public education itself." They can annoy the PTAs, but the very bulk and solidity of the mass middle-class organization is its protection. Moreover, the PTAs have allies. The National Education Association is aware of the harassment of teachers who choose to buck the Birch line on the UN or Supreme Court decisions on desegregation, or on some other issue through which the Birchites make a practice of inciting children to judge whether their teachers are "100 per cent American." Between them, the organized parents and teachers are perfectly capable of dealing with fanatics, and the more so when they see their task as one of protecting public education and academic freedom, be it in the colleges or the elementary schools.

The Death Penalty for Rape

For years civil libertarians have argued that the death penalty for rape is used in a discriminatory way. They pointed out that while for murder Negroes seemed to get about the same justice as whites, for rape the results have always been quite different.

Between 1930 and 1963, North Carolina executed 41 Negro rapists to only 4 whites; South Carolina, 37 Negroes and 5 whites; Georgia, 58 Negroes and 3 whites; Alabama, 20 Negroes and 2 whites; Mississippi, 21 Negroes and no whites; and Texas where the passions apparently run stronger in both races, 68 Negroes and 13 whites.

Attorneys representing convicted Negro rapists have from time to time based their appeals on such unbalanced records as these, claiming violation of the equal protection provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

And invariably the appellate courts have responded with the impeccable, if naive, argument that these statistics alone prove nothing except that more Negroes have been convicted of rape.

To combat this judicial excuse one would have to go back to the courthouse level and trace all rape cases to their conclusions, the overriding question being: Does a particular state specialize in convicting Negroes or in executing Negroes? There is—as the Negroes on death row would be the first to admit—a difference.

The tactic to use is obvious, but it requires such a great deal of work that until now it has not been attempted. There are a dozen Negroes awaiting execution for rape in Florida today, and the Florida Civil Liberties Union, believing this to be twelve too many, hired law students to dig into the court records in every one of Florida's sixty-seven counties over the past quarter century. The results of their investigation are impressive enough to provide the first real hope of upsetting, on constitutional grounds, the use of the death penalty in rape convictions of Negroes.

The investigators found 285 convictions for rape, rather evenly divided between white (132) and Negro (152). The other case was the rape of a white woman

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by an Indian. After conviction, however, the fates of the two races varied dramatically.

¶No white man has been sentenced to death for raping a Negro, adult or child.

¶No Negro has died for raping a Negro, adult or child.

¶Six whites have been sentenced to death for raping white females, but only one of these sentences was carried out, the unlucky exception being doubly a pariah: a homosexual who raped a child.

¶*But*, of the 84 Negroes convicted of raping white females, 45 have been sentenced to death. Twenty-nine of these executions have been carried out.

There's the evidence: 132 whites convicted and one executed; 152 Negroes convicted and 29 executed—for raping white women.

As the FCLU points out, a statute imposing the death penalty exclusively on Negro defendants convicted of raping white women would be clearly unconstitutional. But the same results are being achieved without such a statute.

"The death penalty for rape," wrote the FCLU last week in a bitter, statistics-packed brief, "is a tool of the racists and bigots—and its purpose is to impose punishment upon Negroes where the methods of the lynch mob and the Ku Klux Klan have failed or fallen into disrepute."

Can any court now pretend to doubt it?

The Claimants of Hiroshima . . . . Richard A. Falk

On December 7, 1963, the District Court of Tokyo handed down a decision involving claims against the state brought by injured survivors of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The opinion of the Japanese court in the case of *Shimoda and Others* v. *Japan*, recently translated into English, suggests that the time is ripe also for a moral reckoning in the United States.

The *Shimoda* opinion is long. Only its main features can be outlined and some tentative interpretations suggested. Five residents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki sought compensation from the Japanese Government for damages sustained by the atomic blasts. Japan was made the defendant because in the Peace Treaty it had waived the claims of its nationals against the United States, but the United States was the real defendant—that is, the state whose alleged wrongs gave rise to the damage. It is an irony of the proceedings that the role of the Japanese Government as defendant required it to argue in behalf of the legitimacy of atomic attacks on two of its own leading cities. One senses the reluctance of Japan to press "its side" of the case. In the complaint, which is printed with the opinion, the claimants set forth the facts of the attack, the legal basis for their recovery, and specify the damage that they have individually sustained. The defense does not dispute the facts of the attack or damage, but confines itself to arguing that international law did not prohibit the use of atomic bombs by a belligerent and that, in any event, the Japanese Government has no responsibility to compensate individual victims of atomic damage.

The court recites the agonizing facts, examines, with the help of three expert advisers, the status of atomic weapons and arrives at several important conclusions. First, that it is neither possible, nor necessary, to conclude expressly that international law forbids the use of atomic (or nuclear) weapons, although the reasoning used suggests that such weapons would almost always be illegal if used against cities. Second, that the attacks upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused such severe and indiscriminate suffering that they did violate the most basic legal principles governing the conduct of war. And third, that these claimants had no remedy, since international law does not yet allow individuals, in the absence of an express stipulation in a treaty, to pursue claims on their own behalf against a government, especially against their own government.

These conclusions have great interest for international lawyers because they constitute the sole attempt by a legal tribunal to assess the relevance of the laws of war to the realities of the nuclear age, including especially the legality of nuclear weapons if used against cities and civilian populations. The decision has an added interest in that it was rendered by a domestic court of a leading Asian country on the basis of Western legal concepts and sources of authority. It is also an opinion in which a principal belligerent policy of the victor in a war is brought under legal scrutiny by a tribunal of the defeated state. It should be noted, however, that the court, and even the complainants, make every effort not to pass judgment on the United States or its President, but to examine only the acts complained of. Reading the opinion, one feels a far greater sense of impartiality than that which pervaded the Tokyo and Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, those being trials conducted by the victors sitting in judgment over the defeated.

The *Shimoda* opinion also grapples in an interesting way with the status of individual claims for relief in international law in the absence of treaty rights, and thereby touches on the widely discussed question of whether individuals, as well as states, should become subjects of an evolving international legal system. This is not just an issue fit for academic speculation. Most abuses of human rights are perpetrated by governments against their own nationals. It is a crucial matter whether the victims have the status and a forum within which to assert their claim, embarrass their government, and perhaps arouse a response by the organized international community.

It is probable that the Tokyo opinion will be received favorably by international lawyers throughout the world, admiration being expressed for its dispassionate approach, careful and exhaustive examination of all the legal questions presented,

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Richard A. Falk, author of Law, Morality and War in the Contemporary World (*Praeger*), *is on the faculty of Princeton University.*

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and its conservative conclusions. The court was careful to refrain from making extravagant claims about the relevance of international law to the conditions of atomic attack and to avoid "legislating" on the delicate matters before it. At the same time, it reached the clear and momentous conclusion that the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were illegal. The court acknowledged the delicacy of its role in characteristic Japanese manner by rendering the decision on December 7, the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, thereby linking the aggressive Japanese initiation of World War II with an appraisal of its brutal termination. This was a most graceful way to impart a sense of humility to the whole proceedings and to express the moral ambiguity of the judge's role in a legal controversy drawn from the events of a major war. The District Court of Tokyo deserves commendation for its competence and tact in handling the case.

But it is not for its contribution to international law that the *Shimoda* case is most important. It is rather that the specific context of the claim, with the vividness supplied by the details of the injuries, has produced a text for the study of the whole relationship between nuclear weapons and human destiny. For we are here confronted with the suffering and with an attempt to assess the acts causing it in light of the moral and legal traditions of mankind. The magnitude of the horror caused at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, though at a level far below the destructive potential of current bombs, deprives us of the numbing abstractions about national security, credible deterrents, and the like. It is important to go back, and this decision by the Tokyo District Court leads us back.

The *Shimoda* case may also supplement existing attempts to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons in international conflict. In 1960, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution supported by most of its membership, but not by the United States, declaring nuclear weapons illegal and proposing a conference to implement the declaration. Plans are going forward for such a conference. This may eventually induce the Great Powers to consider more sympathetically the movement to create a tradition of no-first use of nuclear weapons, or —what amounts to the same thing —the restriction of nuclear weapons to reprisal for prior nuclear attack.

In my judgment, a tradition of no-first use, if seriously supported by the official proclamation of principal governments, would considerably improve the prospects for avoiding nuclear war. One doubts, for instance, that the United States would have defied the moral and legal tradition against poison gas or lethal germs if it had developed chemical or bacteriological weapons of mass destruction comparable to atomic weapons. We refrained from using poison gas against the Japanese, despite its relevance to the successful conduct of island and jungle warfare. We refrained more because the weapon was illegitimate than because we feared retaliation. If nuclear weapons could be banned by common tradition, then our defense planning would have to be changed so that security interests could be satisfied without reliance upon them.

However, such a tradition will lack its true moral foundation until Hiroshima and Nagasaki are reconsidered and responsibility accepted for the wrongs done there. Movies and books like *Hiroshima, Mon Amour, Red Alert, Dr. Strangelove, Seven Days in May* and *Fail-Safe* have usefully aroused some sense of fear about nuclear weapons, about the precarious basis of our "security," as long as it is premised upon the capability to destroy an enemy with nuclear weapons. The Japanese case supplements these efforts by analyzing the only historical antecedent. And our refusal to recollect this occasion makes our collective sensibility seem blunted.

The uncut version of *La Dolce Vita* contains a scene in which Steiner explains the murder of his children and his contemplated suicide by a lengthy speech that includes an indictment of the United States for having dropped atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. In the export version of the film, the scene is spliced down to a sentence or two of dialogue, Steiner making only the vague assertion that he is unwilling to bring up his children in a world in which nuclear warfare is a possibility. Steiner's violence seems out of proportion, dramatically unconvincing, and quite implausible as the film now stands. The excision was explained to me as having been prompted by the desire to spare American feelings—and by the recognition that Americans are not commercially responsive to anything that impugns the essential uprightness of their national behavior.

Even if *La Dolce Vita* was not doctored for quite the reasons ascribed, the explanation is credible. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not yet properly implanted in our imagination. There is reluctance to consider the moral question, an impatience with it, and a widespread sense of its irrelevance. To the extent that the issue has been discussed, it has been in technical and strategic terms: whether the Japanese were ready to surrender anyway; whether lives were ultimately saved, and how many; whether a comparable result could have been achieved by a demonstration blast in an uninhabited region. These questions are virtually unanswerable; they do not assess the moral responsibility of the United States for having set a precedent in favor of using nuclear weapons to achieve normal belligerent objectives, and for causing so much indiscriminate grief that lingers on because of the peculiarly grotesque qualities of radioactive diseases. And what does this precedent signify for the future? Has Pandora's box been let open forever, or is a nation, contemplating the use of nuclear weapons in the future, more likely to refrain by thinking back to what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

We must appreciate what it means to have crossed the nuclear threshold. It is hardly mitigating to suggest that the attacks upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki were no worse than the saturation bombings of Dresden and Hamburg, or the fire raids on Tokyo. To begin with, these attacks were themselves awesome rather than routine examples of what war at that time was like. Furthermore, the terrifying impact of atomic devices is enhanced because so much destruction can be achieved by a single detonation. The towering mushroom cloud and the huge blast that obliterates everything within a certain radius are ineradicable aspects of the experience. The impact of atomic war upon the political imagination is suggested by the reaction in Japan, where a widespread revulsion to war

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is formalized in a clause of the new constitution that permanently forbids Japanese participation in or preparation for war. Pacifist feelings remain strong, especially among the younger generations, and there is a great distaste for any security arrangement that involves relying upon nuclear weapons. Is it necessary to suffer the trauma of nuclear attack to question seriously the wisdom and legitimacy of relying upon nuclear weapons to uphold traditional sovereign interests?

The United States refusal to question the status of nuclear weapons reflects much more than an unwillingness to face unpleasant features in our nation's past. Since the end of World War II, our leadership in world affairs has depended upon our ability and willingness to use nuclear weapons against our enemies should circumstances warrant. Especially in Europe, we have made clear that we require nuclear weapons to offset what is alleged to be Soviet conventional superiority. And throughout the world we have tried to intimidate our adversaries by making the conditions of nuclear response uncertain so that acts of provocation might seem more risky. In the years immediately following World War II, our military preeminence was allowed to rest principally upon our nuclear monopoly. More recently, it has rested upon our nuclear superiority, insofar as that exists. Therefore, to withdraw legitimacy from nuclear weapons would be, as has been gleefully pointed out by some of our defense intellectuals, a species of unilateral disarmament. For the United States would be giving up a military advantage without getting anything in exchange.

Some of the military objections to making nuclear weapons illegal, or even to reducing the stockpiles of such weapons, have grown weaker in the last few years. First, the United States is itself now vulnerable to awesome destruction by the Soviet Union. Second, the prospect of widespread dissemination of nuclear weaponry has increased since France and China acquired a nuclear capability; this undermines the security and strategic value of nuclear weapons for both the United States and Russia. Third, it seems quite possible to arrange the defense of Europe on the basis of conventional weapons, and there appears to be much less fear that the Soviet Union will resort to military aggression for expansionist ends. Fourth, it becomes more plausible, although still by no means likely, that satisfactory disarmament agreements can be negotiated. Fifth, the main arenas of international conflict are now internal wars (Vietnam, Laos, Congo) where nuclear weapons have little or no application; that is, the outcome of the cold war is seen to depend much less on the relative capacity to deliver nuclear destruction than upon the ability to influence political developments in certain crucial states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In short, there is less reason now than earlier to resist the suggestion that it would be proper and sensible to ban these weapons.

But it is not easy to reverse the direction of technological progress. Nuclear weapons have been used; the technique for their manufacture is now known throughout the world. Peaceful uses of atomic energy and the exploration of outer space assure the survival, even in a totally disarmed world, of the know-how and industrial capability to achieve rapid nuclear rearmament. No political system of constraint has ever managed either to avoid war permanently, or to prevent the use of any weapon that a belligerent thought would give it a decisive advantage; no nation has been willing to lose a major war rather than refrain from using some novel weapon thought more destructive than the weapons of its opponent. Present prospects for eliminating the danger of nuclear war are thus bleak, but a beginning can be made if we, the citizenry of the country that initiated the nuclear age and exercised leadership over its development, view with belated alarm our role in creating this unprecedented hazard to the future of man.

The Tokyo decision is a useful focus for thorough appraisal of nuclear weapons because it is rooted, as such an appraisal must be, in human tragedy. Let me give some pertinent extracts from the opinion itself:

> The plaintiff, Ryuichi Shimoda, was a healthy man, 47 years old when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. He lived with his family at No. 945 Nakahiro-machi, Hiroshima, and ran a small factory. His eldest daughter, Reiko (16 years old then), his third son, Kiyoshi (12 years old then), his second daughter, Yoriko (10 years old then), his third daughter, Kazue (7 years old then) and his fourth daughter, Toshiko (4 years old then) were killed by the atomic bomb. The plaintiff, his wife, Hina (40 years old then) and his fourth son, Katsuji (2 years old then) were injured by bomb-shell blast, heat ray, and radiation. The plaintiff now has keloid [tumor] in the right upper arm which is functionally disordered, and he also has keloid over the obdom-

World Student Federalists & World Gov't. Assoc. of Japan

Hiroshima

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inal region and the left back which suppurates in the mild season of every spring. Also, he has physical handicaps in the kidney and liver, and he cannot find employment at the present time. His wife, Hina, is suffering from a feeling of languor in the whole body, a feeling of adynamia, and headaches. There sometimes appear symptoms of potential atomic bomb injury to his fourth son, Katsuji. On account of this situation, the family has no income and they barely live by the help of a little money and a few things sent monthly by the plaintiff's elder sister in Honolulu, Hawaii, the United States.

The plaintiff, Maki Tada, resided at No. 2-262, Minami-machi, Hiroshima, when the atomic bomb was dropped, and lived a healthy and happy life with her husband who was an employee of Hiroshima Dentetsu Kabushiki Kaisha [Hiroshima Electric Railway, Inc.]. She was injured on the face, shoulders, chest and feet, and keloid is left in them. She has pains in her body even at the present time, and cannot continue working at daily wages. As her husband left home, disliking her disfigured looks, and has been missing ever since, she lives a miserable life with the help of government livelihood assistance.

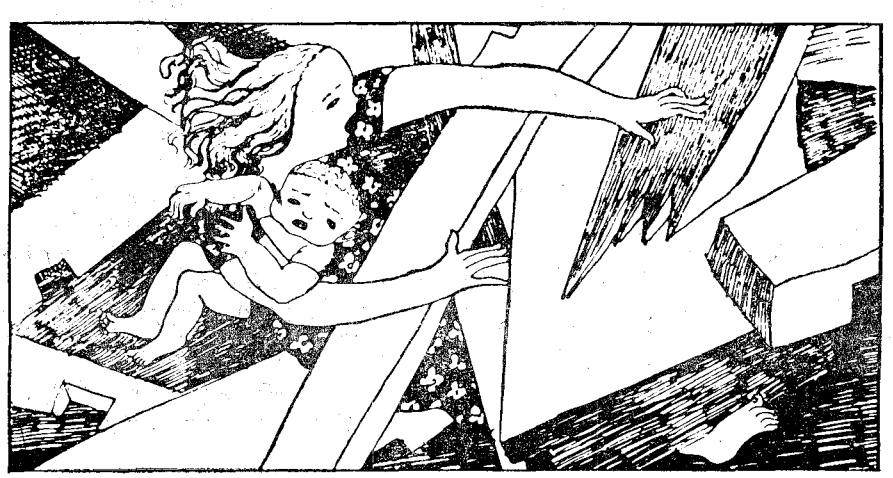
The injuries of the other three plaintiffs are recited in similar detail. The complaint presents remarkably modest claims for compensation: between $550 and $825, plus 5 per cent interest from May 24, 1955, the day the suit commenced.

Within this setting the court examines various prohibitions directed at weapons in the past, beginning in 1886 with the St. Petersburg Declaration that prohibited explosives of less than 400 grams (explosive bullets), and continuing up through the 20th century when various formal efforts have been made at international meetings to outlaw poisonous gases, and to circumscribe rights to engage in aerial bombardment and submarine warfare. A painstaking examination is conducted to reach the conclusion that atomic bombs cannot be said to be legal just because they were new weapons at the time of their use. The emphasis in the opinion is less upon the status of the weapons themselves than upon the specific occasions of their use. Especially, the opinion concentrates upon the inability of an atomic attack to discriminate between military and nonmilitary targets in a metropolitan area: *"Therefore, the act of atomic bombing . . . should be regarded . . . as a blind aerial bombardment; and it must be said to be a hostile act contrary to international law of the day."*

The court then examines the counter argument, advanced by the Japanese Government, that the concept of total war eliminates the distinction, traditional in international law, between combatant and noncombatant, and between military and nonmilitary objectives. The opinion rejects this argument, pointing to the continuing immunity from attack of such objects as schools, churches, shrines, hospitals and private houses. It rejects also the related argument that Hiroshima and Nagasaki represented targets where military objectives were so concentrated that zone bombing could be justified. It notes simply that military objectives were not particularly concentrated in those two cities.

The court examines the claim that the atomic bombing of the cities was "contrary to the principle of international law that the means which give unnecessary pain in war and inhumane means are prohibited." Here, the court recognized that the law of war is formed by weighing considerations of humanity against those of military effectiveness. But it goes on to examine the various prohibitions of weapons —and decides that "however great the inhumane result of the use of a weapon may be, the use of the weapon is not prohibited by international law, if it has a great military efficiency." The court emphasizes the bombings, not the weapons, and concludes that they violate the most fundamental of all principles in the history of the law of war: "The destructive power of the atomic bomb is tremendous; but it is doubtful whether atomic bombing really had an appropriate military effect at that time and whether it was necessary. It is a deeply sorrowful reality that the atomic bombing on both cities . . . took the lives of many civilians, and that among the survivors there are people whose lives are still imperiled owing to radiation, even today, eighteen years later. In this sense, *it is not too much to say that the pain brought by atomic bombs is severer than that from poison and poison gas, and we can say that the act of dropping such a cruel bomb is contrary to the fundamental principle of the laws of war that unnecessary pain must not be given.*"

Here, then, is the full and direct charge against the United States: We used these cruel weapons for doubtful military purposes, in an unusually inhumane way that has permanently seared the imagination of men, and has left an unextinguished legacy of actual suffering among civilians selected arbitrarily as victims of terror practiced on a gigantic scale. Note the analogy to the throwing of handmade bombs into crowded cafés during the Algerian War, a practice that properly provoked editorial writers of *The New York Times* to indignation. Note, also, that these same writers have not as yet seen fit to take notice of this momentous Japanese decision.



I have tried to indicate the character of the opinion in the case of *Shimoda and Others* v. *Japan* and some of the reasons for taking it seriously. Its full force can be felt only by reading the whole document, accompanied by an informed interpretative commentary. We can redeem our past only by compre-

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hending it. At least, we must have the courage to confront what we have done through the eyes of others. This distinguished opinion by the Tokyo District Court deprives us of our last excuse for forgetting the past. Several books have been written about the Eichmann trial. As yet, I have not seen in the United States a sentence printed about the *Shimoda* case.*

There are some concluding issues. It can surely be argued that a reconsideration of the past does not reduce the prospect of its repetition. However, such an argument is hollow when made by Americans, for we have insistently urged the Germans to bring their war criminals to justice, conceiving such an encounter as an occasion for a moral catharsis.

Also, the augmented horrors of war in the nuclear age should not be allowed to diminish the horror of pre-nuclear war. One of the more bedeviling ambiguities in this subject of nuclear war arises because the existence of nuclear weapons may have avoided World War III, or at least postponed it.

Finally, there is the question of whether it makes any sense to contend that there exists a national responsibility for Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For is it not true that the decision to drop atomic bombs was made in secret by President Truman and a small number of close advisers? I would claim that the citizenry cannot so easily separate itself from moral participation in the decisions of its government. For one thing, our entire social and political system elevates to authority those whose values accord with the moral consensus. For another, national reactions to the bombings have ranged from apathy to endorsement. The response certainly seemed equivalent to a mass ratification. As Americans, then, we remain implicated, at least so long as we shun the experience of Nagasaki and Hiroshima as being without interest or importance.

*The translation of the *Shimoda* decision can be found on pp. 212-252 of *The Japanese Annual of International Law*, No. 8, 1964. The address, for any American publisher who may be interested, is Daini-Kowo Bldg., No. 30 1-chome, Shiba-Shimbashi, Minato ku, Tokyo.

The Negro As 'Cause' . . . . . Everett C. Ladd, Jr.

I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids—and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. . . . When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me.

—RALPH ELLISON

Visibility and invisibility have always been central to the "Negro problem." Color has been seen and reacted to; the men, women and children behind the color have been forgotten. More than forty years ago Walter Lippmann gave us the concept of the stereotype—now understood to mean the attribution of a trait or set of traits to an entire group of persons. Stereotypes may be favorable as well as unfavorable, but all commit one great and overriding error: they deny to members of the group their humanity and individuality, leaving them invisible men.

We could put this matter another way and say that the Negro American has always been somebody's cause. The way the term "cause" is understood here must be made clear. Commitment to the cause of equal rights is certainly praiseworthy. But all too often commitment to the Negro has been commitment to a stereotype. It has been "the *Negro* problem," "what the *Negro* wants," what *Negroes* think, what *Negroes* are going to do, what a curse or blessing *Negroes* are for this country. It is much easier to launch a cause when all of the contradictions and complexities have been screened out. The Negro as everybody's cause — thus understood — has been readily manipulated in the interest of all kinds of psychological needs and political objectives. We have been gathering under this banner so long and so devoutly that it has come to dominate our actions and responses, and has left us ill equipped to understand, let alone solve, the enormous problems which are particularly and peculiarly the lot of this country's 20 million Negroes.

Historically, the Negro as cause has been monopolized by white segregationists. Here he has been a black cause, the embodiment of sexual, social, economic and political evil, the threat to the "Southern way of life." He has been the cause for innumerable racist organizations. The literature of the Ku Klux Klan still refers to the Negro's eyeball as "tinged with yellow as is the ape's." "The Negro has no morals. . . . Without the white man to control him the Negro reverts to savagery and practices torture, cruelty and witchcraft. The Negro is a natural cannibal. . . ." At a recent Davidson County (N.C.) cross burning, a Kludd (chaplain) of the Klan spoke at length of "nigger beasts that's roaming our country wanting to rape our wives and daughters." Between 1882 and 1936, white men lynched at least 3,383 Negro Americans in pursuit of their cause. Countless politicians have built careers on the Negro's back—from Tillman, Vardaman and Bilbo to Wallace and Barnett. Robert Sherrill wrote in the pages of this magazine (October 26) that following his 1958 defeat in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, Alabama's George Wallace remarked to friends: "They out-niggered me that time, but they'll never do it again." And his adroit manipulation of the cause became an avenue to power.

Despite the unquenchable libido of the Southern white man during two centuries of slavery, Negro Americans remain readily identifiable. It has been relatively easy for racists to exploit sexual, economic and status fears, and focus these on Negroes.

Many liberal whites and Negroes have been long and properly con-

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cerned with this racist treatment of the Negro as cause. But that has not stopped *them* from making him a cause. Increasing numbers of Negro Americans seem willing to reverse the segregationist's "white is good, black is bad." And it is not only the Muslims and other black nationalist groups who do it. A few months ago a novelist, John Oliver Killens, gave us an "Explanation of the 'Black Psyche'" in *The New York Times Magazine*. He concluded with the statement that "the ultimate salvation of America is in the Negro."

> *The Negro loves America enough to criticize her fundamentally. . . . Ironically enough, in the middle of the twentieth century, the Negro is the* new white hope. *To live castrated in a great white harem and yet somehow maintain his black manhood and his humanity—this is the essence of the new man created out of the Negro Invention. History may render the verdict that this was the greatest legacy handed to the New World by the West* [emphasis added].

Should we say of this simply that Negroes have been victims of the white man's ethnocentrism so long that no one should be surprised to see a little come back? And aren't ethnocentric responses to be found everywhere? And isn't this manifestation relatively harmless? Should we conclude that since whites made what Killens aptly calls the "Negro Invention," Negroes should have a chance to use it? Such an assessment is largely correct, but there is still reason to be wary of this attempt to make the Negro a cause. At the least, it is silly to say that 20 million Negro Americans carry in their bosoms our ultimate national salvation—as silly as it would be to make this claim for 62 million WASPs, 25 million German-Americans, 17 million Irish-Americans, 9 million Italian-Americans, 7 million Scandinavian-Americans, 6 million Polish-Americans, and so on. Negro Americans criticize this country more fundamentally than do members of other ethnic groups, not because they "love America" more, but because their dissatisfaction is greater.

It should be enough to say that Negro Americans want treatment comparable to what their fellow citizens have been getting, and now have the political power to make some of their demands heard. Two centuries ago the egalitarian revolution began, initially the expression of a white entrepreneurial middle class that was tired of being dominated by a hereditary aristocracy. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, an industrial working class (white) sought with varying degrees of success and under a number of different ideologies to profit from this social upheaval. The revolution in American race relations is part of the third wave of the larger egalitarian movement, part of a world demand by peoples of color that they be included in the "men" whom Jefferson, near the beginning of the revolution, declared to be "created equal." A congruence of factors, domestic and international, has brought the Negro's demands to a focus at this time. But in view of this history it does Negro Americans no service to call them a "white hope."

James Baldwin, one of the country's more talented writers, not infrequently makes the Negro a cause. It is not that he fails to recognize the dangers. He has described "the whole root of our trouble, the human trouble," as the imprisoning of ourselves "in totems, taboos, crosses, blood sacrifices, steeples, mosques, races, armies, flags, nations." He recognizes more clearly than most the evil implicit in reducing millions of people to a stereotype. None the less, he wrote in *The Fire Next Time*:

> *The apprehension of life here so briefly and inadequately sketched has been the experience of generations of Negroes, and it helps to explain how they have endured and how they have been able to produce children of kindergarten age who can walk through mobs to get to school. . . . The Negro boys and girls who are facing mobs today come out of a long line of improbable aristocrats—the* only genuine aristocrats this country has produced [emphasis added].

Commenting on this, Robert Coles observed: "If these Negro children and others like them throughout the South are not to be stripped of their humanity the highest honor we can grant them is the truth of their lives. . . . We can . . . try to spare these children by giving them this measure of freedom—to be themselves: not the white man's nigger nor the Negro's whiplash."

The movement toward all-Negro race-advancement organizations is growing. Most of the newer civil rights groups are completely Negro-led, and older organizations with biracial leadership have come under sharp criticism, in part for moving too slowly or not at all, and in part simply because they have whites among their leadership. Two years ago, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell publicly demanded that the NAACP reorganize, with only colored people in policy-making positions. He argued that the Association and other civil rights groups with biracial leadership were in fact controlled by whites, making it "impossible for [Negroes] to make other than token progress. We must seize control of these organizations. We must put into policy-control those persons who represent the black masses." And, "we are prisoners. How can we expect our jail keeper to give us freedom!" In its response, the NAACP took pains to point out that only eleven of its fifty-two directors were white. And if Arthur Spingarn is indeed a jail keeper, then the white-Negro conflict is so irreconcilable that we are without hope.

Powell's criticism and others like it that are being voiced with increasing frequency are probably good "internal" politics. Legions of white politicians have made careers by defining the Negro as a repository of evil, and we can expect expanding numbers of Negro politicians to return the compliment. But it probably is bad "external" politics. The U.S. population is 89 per cent white, and, speaking solely in terms of power, it is generally dangerous to be too ethnocentric when your ethnic group is a distinct minority, and when you can become part of the majority only if the lines of political cleavage are defined by other than ethnic considerations. A permanent and powerful tension exists, then, between the understandably strong desire of many Negroes to exploit white racism politically, and the need imposed by external politics to avoid a sharp white-Negro division.

The result of heightened Negro ethnocentrism—a development which paradoxically should also be viewed as evidence of expanding political power and a partial lifting of the horrible burden of a white-imposed sense of inferiority—has all too frequently been mutual withdrawal. White liberals and Negroes alike assume that suspicions and differences in outlook toward race and racial problems are too great

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to permit continued cooperation within an organization. We have become supersensitized to race.

It was probably unavoidable that certain Negro Americans would come to insist that the Negro really is a creature apart, endowed with peculiar virtues. Certainly it is understandable; but everything that is understandable is not thereby acceptable. (We often confuse analysis and evaluation.) Saunders Redding has written: "My father's saying, 'Don't ever trust a white man,' is in intent no different from the white man's saying, 'All niggers look alike to me.' The phrases represent the lowest common denominator in the American race-experience. . . . They voice experiences so debased and so bereft of humaneness as utterly to discredit our way of life in the eyes of the world."

Finally, and perhaps least excusably, many moderate or liberal whites have all too often been indulging in a love affair with the abstraction *Negro*. He has been their cause, damn it, and he had better not forget it! As their cause, he must follow their blueprint for advancement. Departures or signs of independence are often taken as betrayal. I recall the anguished cry of a liberal white at a biracial committee meeting in a Southern city, when Negroes would not hold back demonstrations: "We've helped you before, now you should help us!" The response of one of the Negroes present was the correct one: "We don't owe you any debt. You've never *given* us anything!"

Liberals seem to have difficulty remembering that the revolution in American race relations is being fought for those who have been denied racial justice—not for the white liberal. It is hard to bridge the gap between the suburb and the ghetto, between the life style of many middle-class white liberals and that of all too many lower-class Negroes. Baldwin has written of the rapid physical deterioration of a Harlem housing project:

> *And they had scarcely moved in, naturally, before they began smashing windows, defacing walls, urinating in the elevators, and fornicating in the playgrounds. Liberals, both black and white, were appalled at the spectacle. I was appalled by the liberal innocence. . . . The people of Harlem know they are living there because white people do not think they are good enough to live anywhere else. No amount of "improvement" can sweeten this fact.*

Covarrubias: from Negro Drawings (Kopf)

Stereotype

Indeed, the differences in the life experiences of large numbers of whites and Negroes are so great that one must despair of their ever being able to see each other as people in the sense that each sees itself as people. The liberal white may believe he can do so, but more often than not he fools himself. He remains attached to order and social stability, and finds it hard to understand the thinking of those for whom social change is the imperative.

The inclination of liberals to judge the actions of Negroes from the perspective of their — rather than the Negroes' — needs was particularly evident during the abortive stall-ins on the approaches to the New York World's Fair last spring. It was legitimate to question the strategy of the stall-ins; the idea may or may not have been a good one. But the unanimity and violence of the condemnation can be understood only in terms of a failure to appreciate the fact that for significant numbers of Negroes "doing something" is more important than adhering to some of the niceties of white middle-class politics.

"Once upon a time," the liberal could keep his cause at arm's length. Civil rights organizations were Northern-based movements designed to correct situations in the South. Shifts in mass populations changed that. (Between 1950 and 1960, for example, the twelve largest cities in the country lost about 2 million white residents while gaining 2 million Negroes.) The cause loses much of its glamour when it makes unsettling demands in one's own city, demands that involve busing pupils or job quotas. Liberals now find themselves caught, as Murray Friedman has suggested, "in

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the dilemma of believing in equal rights for Negroes and even of working for them, while at the same time attempting to escape from the real and fancied disadvantages of desegregation." Viewing this spectacle, many Negroes have become profoundly cynical about the liberal's motivations.

Setting the Negro up as a cause has led to romanticizing about him, his problems and his future; and romantic notions ultimately clash with facts. The vision of the "noble worker" who only awaited emancipation from the exploitation of the "greedy capitalist" to become a kind of Renaissance Man was dashed when economic emancipation failed to produce the new paragon. Similarly, images of the "noble Negro" have already begun to produce a sense of betrayal, because some of the expectations necessarily fail. One of several reasons for the liberal's withdrawal from goals—such as integration of schools—which he has long emphasized as central to the righting of racial wrongs is the discovery that the noble cause is in fact composed of self-interested men who are no more attractive *personally* than their oppressors.

As part of this reaction, Negroes are being urged, more and more frequently, although usually subtly, to concentrate on putting their own house in order. Liberals seem willing to postpone integration in certain areas, or at least to slow it down, until the "cultural" shortcomings of Negroes are overcome. Nathan Glazer in a recent review [*Commentary*, October, 1964] stressed the importance of establishing a self-respecting Negro community. He accused Negroes of demanding "assimilation of a more subtle kind than any other group has demanded in America," and argued that "paralleling the apparent insistence of the Negro militants that there should not be a distinct Negro community, is the fact that the white side is itself composed of a series of communities . . . white Protestant communities, Catholic communities, Irish, Italian, or Jewish communities." He concluded that "the building up of such a community offers a far greater hope for a better and more self-respecting life for Negroes than the kind of *exclusive preoccupation with segregation and discrimination* that has developed in parts of the North and the West" [*italics added*].

It may well be that part of the solution to the race problem is the establishment of self-respecting Negro communities composed of men and women who, having been accepted into the much maligned mainstream of American life, are able to take justifiable pride in their own cultural contributions and identity. But it is a serious mistake to propose this "community" *as an alternative* to integration. It is nonsense to relate the position of, say, Polish-Americans to that of Negro Americans. The former have never been subjected to exclusion and discrimination that were quantitatively or qualitatively comparable to what the Negro has faced. Glazer's community can stand only after the integration which militants are seeking has been accomplished. To advocate it in the absence of integration is in a sense to bring back the euphemistic "separate but equal."

To say that Negro Americans have always been somebody's cause is to say that they have been invisible men. Looking at a whole group of people, we have all too often seen only dark threats, oversexed beasts, noble savages, white hopes; objects and outlets for our own tensions, guilt feelings, paternal instincts and crusading zeal. In these respects the Negro's experi-

LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

and banking systems are in the process of approval by Congress—and that the new laws would make those systems more equalitarian, hence more democratic, than before. He further forgets that the government proposed to Congress a constitutional amendment according to which illiterate people could vote in local elections. That this amendment has not been carried through is evidence that there is an opposition in Congress, and that such an opposition can be highly effective.

Mr. Chilcote mentions the steps taken to fight inflation only to point out the unemployment resulting therefrom, and neglecting to complete his information with the news that such unemployment has since disappeared. . . .

Juracy Magalhes
Ambassador of Brazil

Riverside, Calif.

Dear Sirs: My observations of the current Brazilian situation are based upon a visit to Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Sao Salvador, Recife and Belém during July and August. At that time I interviewed more than fifty professors, writers, politicians and leaders of student, labor and peasant organizations. There is ample evidence to support my views and information, most of which may be found in responsible periodicals like the weekly *Visao* and the daily newspaper *Correio da Manha.*

There are three matters that I wished to emphasize in my article. First, that the military in Brazil effected a coup, not a revolution. Revolution in the modern sense suggests political, economic and social structural change. . . . I am not advocating violent, revolutionary change as the Ambassador suggests. I am simply stating that unless structural change occurs under the present or future government, Brazilians may resort to violence and revolution. Second . . . the Ambassador has failed to comment on the widespread suppression of political and intellectual life about which a major portion of my article was concerned. Third, Brazilian politics remain unstable and in flux. The Castelo Branco government faces two alternatives: first, the maintenance of its tenuous minority position while trying to comply with the demands of an obstructionist Congress, large landowners, private monopolists and state capitalists . . . and second, the merging of the Castelo Branco "soft-line" moderates with the "hard-line" conservatives, eliminating a threat from the Right (personal correspondence with observers in Brazil indicates that the divergence between the soft and hard lines is hardly noticeable any more).

In reference to specific matters discussed by the Ambassador:

(1) I stated that the land reform bill was likely to be approved. . . .

(2) I mentioned both the tax and bank reforms. In theory, these reforms may contribute to equalitarianism and democracy, but, in practice, Brazil is challenged by an old system of values that preserves the *status quo*, corruption and vested interests.

(3) The failure of Congress to pass an amendment allowing illiterates to vote in local elections illustrates the government's narrow road to reform.

(4) I cited unemployment figures as of early August at which time daily newspapers were full of details about unemployment and production stagnation. Statistics in Brazil are usually unreliable and sometimes fabricated. . . .

Ronald H. Chilcote

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ence has not been unlike that of other readily identifiable minorities.

Beyond this, concentration on breaking down the most blatant exclusion barriers has partially diverted attention from the full dimensions of the problem remaining and indeed growing. Twenty million Negro Americans find themselves herded into ever-larger ghettos, victimized by an unemployment rate twice as high as it was fifteen years ago, and two and a half times higher than the rate for whites. Their share of American affluence has been declining over the last decade, and at the end of the 1950s their median family income was a full $2,500 below the national family median ($5,660 as compared to $3,161). All this has been piled upon a legacy of two centuries of slavery and another of gross discriminations in every aspect of life. All this has contributed to appalling social problems that include crime, family instability and illegitimacy. All this has had extraordinary psychological repercussions which we speak of, rather euphemistically, in terms of motivation and alienation. And all this will not be solved by anguished *mea culpas*, or by seeing civil rights as a straightforward struggle between good guys and bad guys, or by expecting the Negro to conform to our preconceived notions and then becoming discouraged when he proves to be only a man. We have too long been mesmerized by the relatively simple — and painless — solutions implicit in our assumption of the Negro as cause.

What we need now is nothing less than a program fully committing the resources of this country. Is there, for example, any solution to the problems of Harlem short of abolishing Harlem through some planned population dispersal? Is there any real possibility that the steady growth of unemployment brought on by technological change will be halted, and then reversed, except by establishing public-works programs more massive than ever envisioned? We might, for example, put the unemployed to work rebuilding our central cities. Politically, any such action remains far off. But we can begin—Negroes and "friendly" whites alike—by scrapping the simplistic analysis that arises from a conception of the Negro as cause, and by then facing the full implications of a truly just society.

NORTON and GODKIN

Launching 'The Nation' . . . . . Kermit Vanderbilt

This article is the first of several which The Nation *will publish during its 100th year on the editors and contributors who built and sustained the magazine over the century.*

The Nation can celebrate its 1965 centennial in large part because one of America's most gifted minds of the last century helped it to survive its difficult beginnings. Charles Eliot Norton, then editor of the *North American Review*, recognized the need for a new postwar magazine in America which could keep alive for succeeding generations the democratic ideals for which the Civil War had been fought. Norton helped financially to launch *The Nation* in 1865. For the beleagured E. L. Godkin, its first editor, he provided the chief moral strength. He was also the early *Nation's* most important contributor, expressing the vision of excellence for American democracy which was to become also the stance of *The Nation* in the Godkin years from 1865 to 1900. Norton's role on the early *Nation*, only one of his many valuable labors as an intellectual and public man, can only be sketched here. The story also becomes the history of a friendship between two of America's great editors and civilizers.

Norton and Godkin first met through a mutual friend, Frederick Law Olmsted. The place was Boston in 1863. By that year the two men had arrived at almost identical views of political democracy, despite the difference in their origins. Godkin, Norton's junior by four years, was born in Ireland in 1831, and educated at Queen's College, Belfast. He had come to the United States in 1856 as a hard-working correspondent for the London *Daily News*. When he met Norton, Godkin had also become an important contributor to the New York *Evening Post* and to *The New York Times*. Norton, on the other hand, was born into the favored circle of the Boston Brahmins. After Harvard, he had been a businessman and self-endowed art scholar in Europe. The democratic radicalism in Europe which inspired Godkin's admiration for Kossuth, and in 1853 urged him to publish a youthful *History of Hungary*, had led in the same year to Norton's conservative doubts about Kossuth and democracy, expressed in *Considerations on Some Recent Social Theories*.

Out of these diverging backgrounds came men of remarkably similar attitudes and temperaments. Godkin and Norton were both sons of ministers who had also been shapers of moral opinion as practicing journalists. Both as young men were early 19th-century students of political economy, conversant with what was then considered the "liberal" laissez-faire doctrines of Smith, Ricardo and Mill. Morality as well as economic "law" sanctioned human independence and equal opportunity. Godkin and Norton opposed slavery and envisioned a republican government in the United States that would encourage the pursuit of excellence and self-realization among all its members. For Norton, the ten years after 1853 had been marked by an awakening of hopes for an egalitarian society, alternating with, rather than replacing, his earlier misgivings. For Godkin, these years were a period of weighing his earlier views on Kossuth and popular sovereignty.

When they met in 1863, Godkin and Norton, for all their shared uncertainties, were confident that the then current Civil War was being waged on behalf of the highest social and moral justice. The suffering and tragedy of the sectional conflict, while lamentable, were a necessary cleansing of the national soul, and provided the basis for

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America's coming of age as a moral civilization. The Civil War, they were agreed, promised to be a turning point in human history. Norton had earlier expressed this optimism in the *Atlantic Monthly* (which he helped to establish in 1857) and presently was interpreting the war issues for the American public as editor of the *North American Review*. Godkin was championing the Northern cause in his dispatches to the London *Daily News*.

Thus, when they met in 1863, Norton and Godkin shared what can best be termed the doctrines of opportunity, excellence and conscience in a democratic society. How the journalist could help to achieve these ideals must have been their immediate subject, for Olmsted had told Norton that Godkin was coming to Boston to confer about "the proposed weekly paper." The founding of *The Nation* properly dates from that meeting, although the first number did not appear until the final shot of the war had been fired. Born out of the idealism and wartime optimism of Godkin and Norton, *The Nation* hoped to communicate an aspiring vision of human liberty and moral progress to a sober postwar society. As Norton wrote in the *North American* during the closing months of battle:

> *We shall come out of this war with . . . new reason for trust in the political instincts and intentions of an instructed and intelligent people. We shall have given proof of the possession by a free popular government of those very qualities which it has been commonly though erroneously supposed such a government was incapable of exhibiting.*

The Nation began publishing in July, 1865, securely endowed with $100,000 raised in the previous months among forty stockholders recruited by Norton in Boston, James Miller McKim in Philadelphia, and Godkin in New York. The magazine's prospectus included six objectives: to champion equal opportunity for the "laboring class at the South," and to follow the social progress of the Negro; to provide information on Southern business; to discuss legal and economic issues with less bias than was shown by the daily press; to stress the importance of popular education; to spread "true democratic principles in society and government"; and to offer "sound and impartial" literary and art criticism. So in mid-1865, it was hoped before the country could relax the moral energies engendered by the war years, *The Nation* was launched into an uncertain future.

That Godkin's troubles began at once was no surprise to Norton, who had previously recruited his forceful pen for the pages of the *North American*. The first issue of *The Nation* brought an angry letter from a stockholder who objected to irreverent references to the millionaire Jay Cooke. More than one reader, citing Godkin's origins, questioned his credentials as an American editor and accused him of sharing the traditional British dislike for things American. Irritation at Godkin's tone, together with factional conflict within *The Nation's* body of investors, reflected the edgy nerves of a divided nation in the throes of reconstruction. An editor who took a stand on the issues and personalities of Northern business and Southern politics immediately after the war openly courted hostility. Godkin soon discovered that his enemies outnumbered his allies. Discouraged by rebukes in the first few weeks, he wrote to Norton: "You are the only man of the whole body of projectors with whom I know I am in thorough sympathy."

Godkin's woes continued in succeeding months. He gloomily accepted the impending failure of *The Nation*, but told Norton, "If it failed to-morrow, I should feel myself abundantly repaid in having by means of it been brought into such close relations with so kind and sympathizing a friend as you have been." *The Nation* held up under the abuse from its critics and stockholders, however, and on its first anniversary, the two friends exchanged mutual congratulations. "If the paper succeeds," Godkin wrote to Norton, "I shall always ascribe it to you, as without your support and encouragement I do not think I should have been able to endure to the end." Norton replied, "You are making the paper more than I ever hoped it could be. . . .*You* are the *Nation;* without you it is not worth supporting."

Norton's encouragement and support continued in following years. "The *Nation* is a weekly comfort and satisfaction," he told Godkin. "It seems like a personal message from you to me; as if printed for my sake. I hear nothing but good of it." He offered to advance Godkin $1,000 a year for three years or longer if *The Nation* should need additional funds. "This I would do in the belief that as long as you live the *Nation* is a good investment."

Norton was more than a moral and financial support to Godkin. As editor of the *North American*, he contributed his seasoned experience as an American journalist. And he wrote for the magazine from its opening number. Magazine historian Frank L. Mott has rightly said that Norton's name should head the list of writers for the early *Nation*. Norton and Godkin supplemented each other. While Godkin discussed mistakes of the Johnson administration, the readmission of Southern states, Negro civil rights, the public debt, the income tax, Norton wrote more broadly on cultural tendencies in postwar society. He pointed out deficiencies in American education which made the vote a dangerous political weapon. He prodded the readers mildly with essays on native lack of refinement and good taste. Some of his titles tell their own stories: "The Paradise of Mediocrities," "Waste," "Good Manners." His complex attitude toward America—the conflicts that plagued him even in those months of soaring optimism—appear in the early articles. Contrapuntal themes recur insistently: America has no hereditary lower class—and no distinguished higher class; snobbery as a rule is absent in America—and so are "good manners"; in America every man has "a chance" to become wealthy—and after gaining wealth, to squander it in barbaric extravagance. The terms "equality," "democracy," "mediocrity" clashed with "cultivation" or "culture."

After pointing out these shortcomings in American life, however, Norton could conclude: "A nation where men start on a level, where 'every man has a right to be equal with every other man,' where every man has 'a chance,' is not likely to remain forever the 'Paradise of Mediocrities.'" Though Americans too easily ignored European traditions in art, learning and good manners, Norton also noted that such traditions "were part of the laws by which the false distinctions among men were maintained." For a model of good manners, America needed to look back no further than to its own late President:

> *Mr. Lincoln possessed the essentials of good manners. He showed us*

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what manners an American "rail-splitter" might have. They were the manners of a good heart, that trusted itself and other men. Upon such a foundation we may build whatever superstructure of beauty, grace, and art we choose. And though our manners be uncouth and unconventional today, they shall to-morrow—a hundred years hence—be the noble manners of men not only gentle in heart but of refined and elegant cultivation.

Buoyed by these expansive democratic vistas, but physically weakened by overwork, Norton sailed for Europe in 1868. His five years abroad, devoted to the study of art history, prepared him for his final civilizing mission in America. During the critical years abroad, Norton also lost a good part of his war-inspired faith in common-man democracy. The spectacle of "vulgar rich" American tourists, grown fat on peacetime materialism, appalled him everywhere in Europe. His misgivings about contemporary politics increased during the summer, 1869, meeting in Switzerland of a "Peace Congress" of revolutionary political figures, including Victor Hugo. Norton attended the meetings and sent his observations on popular sovereignty to Godkin and *The Nation*. Universal suffrage, Norton affirmed, would not automatically bring peace, liberty and justice into the world as long as the "moral dispositions" of men remained vicious. In a single long sentence, deeply tinged with irony and pessimism, Norton gave renewed emphasis to his reservations on the "democratic form of government":

> *It was curious and instructive to listen, day after day, to the various expressions of this doctrinaire faith in forms and institutions, not as the evidences but as the sources of human progress, and to hear the virtues of the people exalted, as if the establishment of a democratic form of government, based on universal suffrage, were synonymous with the abolition of selfishness and all evil passions—as if men and women were bad because of imperialism and the government of kings, and nothing were needed for the milennium but popular liberties.*

Godkin's reports from home confirmed Norton's fallen hopes: the Grant administration was riddled with corruption, the General's political appointments were disgracefully unfit, and Congress had rejected a civil service reform designed to remove the excesses of the spoils system. Thoroughly disheartened, Norton was tempted to exile himself from America permanently. Aside from *The Nation*, he could detect almost no evidence of serious thought at home, and the magazine was forced to "drag out a difficult existence in the midst of the barbaric wealth of the richest millions of people in the world." But an ingrained optimism and sense of duty remained. Norton returned to America in 1873, prepared to resume the fight against "the devils of prosperity and ease," as Harvard's first professor of fine arts and, more broadly, as instructor to his countrymen in matters of morality and taste.

Charles Eliot Norton

In this latter capacity, Norton resumed his close connection with *The Nation*. By 1900, he had contributed some eighty pieces, chiefly art criticism, ranging from Greek antiquities, Renaissance painters, Dante and Donne, to American engravers and frontier poetasters. *The Nation's* reputation as a journal which commanded the respect of intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic was due in no small measure to the painstaking scholarship which Norton brought to his art reviews. He served as his own example of the cultural excellence which American society could attain. To the same end he was also a popularizer of the humanities. He urged in *The Nation* a broadened curriculum in the schools to allow instruction in the fine arts. He encouraged the advance of wood engraving and photography, so that the masses might become acquainted with the world's great paintings, sculpture and architecture. He believed that the favored conditions of American economic and social democracy made possible a high level

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of popular taste, morality and intelligence. Godkin agreed, but by the late seventies, he had about concluded that the unruly majority was beyond the reach of education.

Norton's missionary zeal, his determination to raise the quality of national thought and taste, must have rallied Godkin from some of his blacker moods. It is clear that after his return to America in 1873, Norton continued to be Godkin's most valued support and trusted confidant. When his wife died in 1875, Godkin momentarily looked into a still darker future, made out his will and left his interest in *The Nation* to Norton, who "will have both its interest and mine equally at heart." He thereupon moved to Cambridge and lived as Norton's neighbor for two years. In 1881, Godkin returned to New York and initiated plans to sell *The Nation* to Henry Villard's *Evening Post*, where it would appear as a weekend supplement. Godkin would then write editorials for both papers. He sent a confidential note on the impending sale to Norton: "You had so much to do with starting the *Nation* and indeed, I may say, its existence is so largely due to the support and encouragement which you gave me in its early days, that I shall be exceedingly sorry if its latter end should in any way be disappointing to you." He expressed the same gratitude in the next decade by selecting thirty years of *Nation* editorial comment and dedicating the volume "To Charles Eliot Norton, to whom the foundation of the *Nation* was largely due." In May, 1901, a weary and disillusioned Godkin abandoned America and his journalistic ardors, and returned to England. Norton still alternating between discouragement and hope, continued to write an occasional review for *The Nation* and to give battle with political demagogy, selfish business interests, jingoism and yellow journalism. When Godkin died in 1902, Norton wrote the tribute to his fellow warrior and long-time friend:

> *He did more than any other writer of his generation to clarify the intelligence and to quicken the conscience of the thoughtful part of the community in regard to every important political question of the time. But the strongest forces in the immediate development of national life were against him.*

Norton's eulogy to his friend's political wisdom and daring (Godkin considered himself a "radical") will seem, from the perspective of *The Nation*'s later progressive liberalism under Oswald Garrison Villard and other editors, to be somewhat extravagant. Norton, Godkin and the early *Nation* were moderate almost to the point of being reactionary in the face of rampant growth and change in the last three decades of the century. They tried to project the earlier "liberal" dream of individual morality, liberty and achievement into an era of big government, labor unionism and impersonal corporate industry. The early *Nation* was therefore an ideal bridge between the older America and the new. It is easy today to dwell on the quixotic aspects of its old-fashioned laissez-faire liberalism. Norton and Godkin both hoped, naively and pathetically it now seems, to remove the worker's discontent by inculcating a higher morality upon the leaders of big business. Enlightened paternalism, not government intervention or the labor union, was the proper way to cope with the inequities of an expanding industrial complex. Civil service reform, they believed, was the panacea for political chicanery in an age of graft, favoritism and machine politics. Always ready to elevate complex issues to the sphere of moral responsibility and the individual, Norton and Godkin pinned their remaining hopes for political rectitude on the

E. L. Godkin

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reform candidacy of Grover Cleveland in 1884. When Cleveland failed them, both men reflected anew on America's inability to bring reconstruction efforts into accord with Civil War ideals. Their answer came not from a reassessment of the new conditions of the late 19th century: the social and political chaos of the city, the rise of socialism, the agrarian revolution, the march of technology and mass production. Instead, they reached into history for the moral analogy: the corruption of the Roman Empire prefigured the material and political conditions of America's Gilded Age.

The modern verdict on the nonprogressive "liberalism" of Norton and Godkin, and the early *Nation*, therefore, has been severe, especially in the recent studies of Alan P. Grimes and William M. Armstrong. That laissez-faire political and economic theory was already outmoded in 1870 may be so, though the truth is somewhat easier to recognize now than it was a century ago. But to complain that the intellectuals in one age failed to anticipate the wisdom of a later generation adds little to an understanding of either the past or present, and misses the more important strands of continuity. The issues of mediocrity and majority rule in a democracy, for example, were forecast by de Tocqueville in the 1830s, and cited time and again by Norton and Godkin. And in 1953, when Mr. Grimes's critique of the early *Nation* appeared, a mass electorate had just expressed its undoubted will and questionable intelligence by electing Dwight D. Eisenhower. And when Mr. Armstrong's study came out four years later, intelligent national leadership and opportunities for individual excellence had grown increasingly hard to detect in America. Even so, the electorate had once again embraced mediocrity as a national way of life. The apprehensions of more than one latter-day liberal in the 1950s were not very different from some of the forebodings of Norton, Godkin and the 19th-century *Nation*.

Catch a Bigot by the Toe . . . . . Tom Kelly

Washington, D.C.

Until Tuesday, January 26, Joseph Mitchell was under the impression that he had established a model White Citizens Council in Prince Georges County, Md. As city manager of Newburgh, N.Y., Mr. Mitchell won a considerable notoriety in 1963, when he revised that town's welfare regulations. [See "Welfare à la Newburgh" by William B. Rollins and Bernard Lefkowitz, *The Nation*, Sept. 16, 1961; p. 157.] He is now field director of the Citizens Councils of America, and his particular job is to introduce the extralegal governments of the councils to the racially peaceful precincts of Maryland and Virginia.

Prince Georges County is a sprawling suburb of Washington, D.C. At the apparent high point of Mr. Mitchell's success, the County Citizens Council had twenty active members and met weekly at a roadside restaurant between Washington and Annapolis. The zeal of the group delighted Mitchell.

"This is one of the finest, most active, intelligent councils I've ever seen," he said at one point. He was unaware then that eighteen of the members were liberal infiltrators.

Only two, a feckless youth named Harold, who worked at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and a District of Columbia policeman, were really, truly white supremacists. The council president was Norman Kilpatrick, a member of the Committee for Racial Justice Now, of the United Church of Christ. The treasurer, Phil Perkins, is an ex-president of a CORE chapter, who had worked for Negro voter registration in Mississippi. Clare Crawford, a reporter for the Washington *Daily News*, was recording secretary — a convenient arrangement. I was chairman for recruiting and fund raising. The other infiltrators included Father Rory Welch, a Catholic priest, the Rev. Perry Smith, a Negro Baptist clergyman originally from Mount Bayou, Miss. (he could not, of course, attend meetings, but his name swelled the rolls), a museum curator, an anthropologist, a couple of lawyers, a college professor, several government workers and a few housewives.

On January 26, Mr. Mitchell read the awful truth in the *Daily News*. He took it well and was quoted by one paper as saying, "It is almost a funny story." But as Chet Huntley and David Brinkley said on their network program, while displaying a picture of Mr. Mitchell, "Mr. Mitchell didn't seem to be laughing when he said it."

The Prince Georges take-over began almost by accident and proceeded by spasmodic inspiration. In Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia, field director Mitchell had been finding the ground stony. In eight months he had managed to set up eight councils, four in Maryland, four in Virginia, and none in the District. With the exception of the Baltimore Council and the vibrant one in Prince Georges, they were weak and static—two or three bitter men meeting in a barber shop or in somebody's front room.

Mr. Mitchell spoke on the point at one Prince Georges council meeting: "I'll be quite frank: if it were easy you wouldn't need me. It's hard work. We tried one in Montgomery County prior to the election. In Montgomery [another Washington suburb] there were too many liberals operating. They think it is some kind of sport to go around neighborhoods circulating fair-housing petitions. . . ."

The Prince Georges operation began when Mr. Kilpatrick joined the Hyattsville, Md., Citizens Council early last summer. Hyattsville is in Prince Georges. Mr. Kilpatrick signed up just to get a close look at the enemy. He found three or four members and no plans, and was about to drop out when field director Mitchell arrived to form a county-wide organization. Mr. Mitchell picked as president a Takoma Park tax consultant. The new incumbent called a private meeting at his home and Mr. Kilpatrick tipped off CORE which sent around some pickets. Publicity-shy, the tax consultant quit, and Mr. Mitchell, quite naturally, appointed the energetic Mr. Kilpatrick as his successor.

A short account of the picketing

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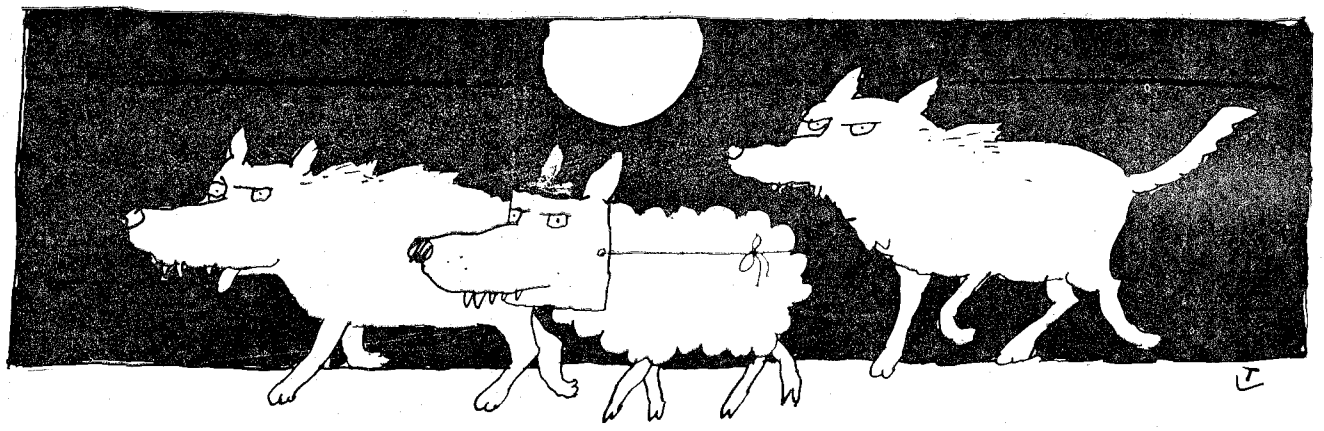

appeared in the weekly Washington *Afro-American* and Mr. Kilpatrick suggested, with rather lopsided logic, that a member who was a printer on a newspaper must be leaking to the press. The printer was purged from the rolls. Mr. Kilpatrick then recruited Phil Perkins. Clare Crawford, who'd heard from a friend about the maneuver, got in touch with Mr. Kilpatrick, and she and I joined up. Mrs. Crawford's husband, a lawyer, became the council's counsel.

Mr. Mitchell, impressed by the activity, persuaded the Citizens Council headquarters in Jackson, Miss., to issue Prince Georges an immediate charter. We met each week at a roadhouse called Rip's; Mr. Mitchell didn't miss a meeting. Each time he was moved to praise our growing numbers, our attitude, our activity and our leader. "It is so pleasing to have someone like Norm," he said at one point. "He grabs the ball."

Norm was also grabbing everything else, including a confidential list of "fat cat" contributors. After each name Mitchell had written his own impression of the prospective benefactor: "(millionaire-sympathetic), (cantankerous), (slipped off hook with all of his followers)" and such. At the bottom of the list was a note: "Norman, this list would be valuable to the liberals and would seriously embarrass me if it gets in the wrong hands. Please take care. Joe." Kilpatrick also obtained a list of the other councils in the area and wrote to friends asking them to infiltrate.

Plans were made for a mass public rally in February, though it was apparent to all but two members that no such rally would be held. There was spirited discussion of the possibility that a spy or newspaper reporter might slip into the group.

"I can spot a phony," Mr. Mitchell said. "The only time I have been fooled recently was when I heard about a grocer in Marshall, Va. He had been fighting rising milk prices and I thought he was one of us. When I asked him for a contribution and gave him some literature, he said, 'I thought they should have sent federal troops into Mississippi as soon as those three kids were murdered. . . .' "

By January 8, some three months after the infiltration began, the membership had grown to its full size, and Mr. Mitchell was discussing political philosophy. "Our philosophy is the same as that of the John Birch Society," he said, "but the Birch Society refuses to deal with the race issue. The Birch Society is national, the council is concerned with local issues. This is a local council. I admire the Birch Society but they take orders from Belmont (Mass.) and their dues go to Belmont."

Mr. Mitchell at that meeting said the councils were needed as a counterforce against organized liberals and that headquarters had therefore been set up in Jackson, Miss. One infiltrator, who'd signed up just that evening, pretended to be confused, outraged and slightly drunk. He protested, violently, that he had come to the meeting under the impression that he was to join a conservative organization. "I don't want to join no organization that is sending money to a bunch of liberals in Jackson, Miss."

I assured Mr. Mitchell after the meeting that the shouter was essentially sound. "Oh, don't worry about that man," Mr. Mitchell said. "He's just the type we need."

In mid-January, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Kilpatrick drove to the annual convention of citizens council leaders in Montgomery, Ala. At the convention Kilpatrick busied himself taking pictures, taping conversations, and compiling lists of members in various parts of the country. The theme of the convention was, "Where Are We Headed?" and the answer, supplied by Alabama Gov. George Wallace and others, was "North."

Mr. Mitchell as a pioneer in Maryland made a major address in which he cited his particular triumphs in Prince Georges and Baltimore. Mr. Kilpatrick made a short speech in which he suggested that the councils adopt the slogan, "We shall overcome." He posed for pictures with Governor Wallace and Louisiana's Leander Perez.

On Saturday night he went off by himself and integrated a previously all-Negro movie house. The rest of the audience looked at him but nobody said a word. Later that evening he heard from a high council source that an attack was planned for Monday on Martin Luther King in Selma, Ala. He called Washington and had a friend notify the FBI. On Monday, Dr. King was involved in a hotel-lobby scuffle, but a connection with the reported planned attack can only be guessed.

By Monday, Mr. Kilpatrick was back in Washington and the following Saturday, the Prince Georges White Citizens Council, with Mitchell and the segregationist members absent, held a climactic meeting. It formally merged with CORE.

The Prince Georges Citizens Council is at present the only authorized, only chartered, only legal citizens council in the county. By citizens council regulations, it is autonomous and the Jackson, Miss., headquarters can only give it advice. It will be interesting to see what advice Jackson offers.

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America's First Anarchist Snob

HENRY ADAMS: The Major Phase. By Ernest Samuels. Harvard University Press. 687 pp. $10.

Leo Marx

Definitive is the accurate yet needlessly forbidding word for Ernest Samuels' three-volume, 1,579-page biography of Henry Adams, of which *The Major Phase* is the last. It is definitive in the literal sense: no one is likely to compose another full-dress record of Adams' life. Yet to call a biography definitive is to suggest one of those relentlessly detailed, flat, academic jobs that manage to convey everything about a man except his living qualities. In this case, however, Professor Samuels fulfills all of his scholarly obligations without smothering his subject. He has been into all of the sources, explored all of the relevant 19th-century intellectual history, checked and rechecked all of the facts. Yet the astonishing result is an engrossing book, with the man in it: cold, arrogant, tough, irascible, egocentric, sentimental, brilliant Henry Adams. This is all the more remarkable when we consider that Samuels has been working on this project for some twenty-two years, and that his subject must be one of the least ingratiating figures in our literary history. What is the appeal, or at least fascination, that Henry Adams holds for Mr. Samuels and, through his efforts, for us?

No scholar has ever suggested that Adams was a likable man. Sooner or later almost everyone who knew him found it necessary to tell him off. When Harvard offered him an honorary degree, Adams announced that he would accept only if Hay and Nicolay also received degrees. "You are not conferring this degree on yourself," President Eliot said, "it is the act of the University." Even Mrs. Cameron, whom he worshiped, told him that he needed a good bloodletting to get some of the bitterness out of his veins. Justice Holmes stopped calling at the Adams house because, he said, the conversation there had a way of turning everything to dust. At times Adams' filthy habit of Jew-baiting reached the point where, as John Hay put it, if he saw "Vesuvius reddening the midnight air he searched the horizon to find a Jew stoking the fire." In the Dreyfus Affair his sympathies were with the eminent French officers who were being badgered, as his brother Brooks said, "by a gang of dirty Jews."

But Adams' hysterical anti-Semitism is not the worst thing about him. That can be explained as a temporary aberration of his class; perhaps he was just a little more outspoken than the others. What really compels us to dislike him is his undiscriminating contempt for Other People. For most men he had neither respect nor sympathy. When any acquaintance, say Teddy Roosevelt, won a measure of popular favor, Adams took the fact as a sign of incurable vulgarity. Mr. Samuels' method is to present the evidence without passing judgment. Every now and then, however, he deftly provides a measure for the man. "One searches fruitlessly in his immense correspondence of these years [the Roosevelt years] for signs of a sympathetic interest in the ordinary individuals who made up the mass of mankind."

What is particularly unpleasant about his glacial hauteur only becomes apparent when we recognize that it is not an expression of philosophic misanthropy, like Swift's, but of the hypocritical snobbery of the *rentier*. This subject is difficult and dangerous. To raise it is to invite the charge of vulgarity; it points to the Adams attitude toward money. What Adams and his brothers disliked most about their contemporaries was their indecent concern with money. Henry's favorite epithets, "gold bug" and "Jew," were directed against that unclean national obsession. Yet when the security of the family trust was threatened, in 1893, the Adams brothers panicked just like everyone else. John had a nervous collapse; Charles, the financier, was near the end of his rope, and Henry, who tried to avoid "vulgar money matters"—his share of the trust was about a million dollars—came rushing home from Europe. But there is not a sign that he felt sheepish about this unseemly voyage. One can only conclude that anxiety about Adams money was different because the money was cleaner, older, better than the money everyone else was scrambling for.

To all of this, of course, there is the telling objection that it leaves Henry Adams, the writer, out of account. The important thing, we must remind ourselves, is not his character but his work; here is the *Education*, the *History* and the *Chartres:* why not read them, judge them, and on that basis give the man his due? After all, our interest in Adams chiefly derives from the writing, and it is his writing, not his extra-literary behavior, that has won a place in the national consciousness. (For all his association with men of high station, it is striking how little influence he actually had upon affairs.) Besides, his passionate commitment to his intellectual vocation is truly admirable, and if we consider his circumstances, his wealth, and all the forms of self-indulgence open to him, it verges on the heroic. As a writer he was not easy on himself; he chose incredibly risky, exacting subjects, set high standards, and insisted on finishing what he began. Making a judgment becomes even more difficult if we accept Professor Samuels' plausible opinion that the secret of Adams' genius as a writer lay precisely in that "transcendent and irrepressible egoism" we find so galling. It is evident that a large part of the fascination Adams holds for Samuels turns upon the old paradox of the writer as insufferable hero. To approach Adams with sympathy, it is first necessary to overcome one's prejudice against prejudice. This Mr. Samuels has accomplished. His method is to incorporate ample analysis of Adams' books within the biographical narrative, and to leave judgments to his readers.

In the preface to the third volume, however, Professor Samuels speaks to us directly, in effect staking Adams' reputation on his ideas and, even more specifically, his ideas about power. The whole career of Henry Adams might be described as an endless speculation on power. Yet with Adams, power proves to be a latter-day rubric for a venerable theological subject. What concerned him was the relation between two kinds of power—the power of the human mind to control events, and the power that external circumstances exert

Leo Marx's most recent book is The Machine in the Garden *(Oxford).*

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upon mind. His Puritan ancestors called these antagonists, whose struggle dominates everything he wrote, will and predestination. Emerson called them freedom and fate, and to endow them with a strictly modern, melodramatic significance, Adams finally seized upon that wonderfully incompatible pair, the Virgin and the dynamo. If we judge him by his influence upon ourselves, the most important contribution of Henry Adams is the attitude toward history embodied in these paired symbols. And if we examine that attitude it becomes obvious, I believe, that we cannot finally separate the frigid *rentier* from the historian.

To make the point one can ask what Adams required in a theory of history. By the time he got around to formulating a theory he had certain convictions, and the theory had to bear them out. First, it had to impart a high degree of causal efficacy to technological innovation. A lifelong admirer of Carlyle, Adams also was convinced that the 19th century was, above all, the Age of Machinery, and that technological power was the primary force determining the direction of Western society. Second, it had to place the great 18th-century revolution, in which the Adams family had played a leading part, in a favorable or at least not unfavorable light. Yet it also had to repudiate—and this is the third and subtlest point—the social order that came out of that revolution. Obviously, no theory of history could satisfy Adams unless it embraced his wholehearted dislike of industrial capitalism. The trickiest requirement, then, was a theory that honored the "progress" or change that resulted from mechanization, yet one that embraced some equivalent of the concept of alienation. Of all the systematic theories in circulation, there was only one that seemed to meet these needs. "I never struck a book which taught me so much," he said after reading *Kapital*, "and with which I disagreed so radically in conclusion." Whenever the system seemed to be in danger of collapse, he pulled out the Marxian analysis, which he thought conclusive, and used it with savage pleasure to proclaim the impending doom of gold-bug capitalism. Needless to say, the notion of Henry Adams actually embracing Marxism is ludicrous. As he put it in the *Education*, "By rights, he should have been a Marxist, but some narrow trait of the New England nature seemed to blight socialism, and he tried in vain to make himself a convert."

What that "narrow trait" was we have seen; it was nothing less than his absolute, Calvinistic assurance of election to the order of saints. For Henry Adams to have become a Socialist was like Cotton Mather resigning his pulpit to declare his allegiance to the damned. It is not simply that Adams was one of the well favored who was made uneasy by the unwashed; he believed that they *deserved* their suffering, and that he had every reason to despise them. The "narrow trait" that seemed to blight socialism also blighted every other theory of society which entailed a closing of the gap between the well born and the many. He hated all reformers and do-gooders. Given these limitations, it is not surprising that he was a pessimist; he had almost no hope that society ever could subordinate the power represented by the dynamo to a humane purpose. He therefore located the moment when man's metaphysical (imaginative) energy was adequate to his physical (technological) capacities in the 13th century. After that, according to Adams, the explosion of physical energy overwhelmed mind; his "law of acceleration" described modern society as a machine increasingly out of control. Adams' theory of history might be described as a species of technological determinism in which the machine is the surrogate for the punishing God of his forefathers.

The most important attitude that Henry Adams has bequeathed to us is a familiar, sterile, despairing kind of fatalism. It is bound to tempt anyone who is intelligent enough to recognize the magnitude of the energies released by modern technology, yet who also is incapable of identifying with any group of human beings who might have the wit to control it. Adams and his friends liked to call themselves Conservative Christian Anarchists. If one were trying to gauge his influence, it would be instructive to begin by seeing how many 20th-century intellectuals, artists and writers have belonged to the same party. It is a brilliant name—Conservative Christian Anarchists; the terms spin around, canceling one another out, and leaving us with just that delicious sense of apocalyptic impotence that is one of our favorite anesthetics nowadays. Consider all this and it becomes impossible to leave the other Henry Adams—the nonwriting, cold-blooded, Puritanical *rentier*—out of the final reckoning. By bringing them together Mr. Samuels has done us an uncommon service.

Fatherly Sedition

NUMBER 7: Alexander Hamilton's Secret Attempts To Control American Foreign Policy. By Julian P. Boyd. Princeton University Press. 166 pp. $4.

JOHN MARSHALL AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON: Architects of the American Constitution. By Samuel J. Konefsky. The Macmillan Co. 274 pp. $5.95.

Cecelia Kenyon

That Alexander Hamilton was a man of many talents, and that his exercise of them has made him appear in many guises, is a fact long recognized in the annals of American history. In the first of these two books, he is charged with extremely serious improprieties as a member of Washington's Cabinet; in the second he is portrayed as one of the architects of the Constitution.

Number 7 is a shocker. It accuses Hamilton of dealing with a British secret agent without reporting the fact to the President; of deliberately misleading the President and the Secretary of State once he did reveal his connection with the agent; of fabricating a libelous rumor designed to discredit Washington's official representative to the British and then attributing the rumor to British sources; of giving information about American military plans to his British contact without authorization from the President. These are serious charges, and it seems safe to predict that few Americans will read them without a strong emotional response. Partisans of Jefferson (of whom the present reviewer is one) will find it difficult to suppress a gasp of appalled satisfaction—Hamilton was so much worse even than we thought.

Partisans of Hamilton will perhaps hope to find the charges unsubstantiated. For them, Konefsky's *John Marshall and Alexander Hamilton* will be a much more comfortable book. In it,

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Hamilton appears again as the familiar exponent of constitutional doctrines now securely embodied in our governmental system, and Marshall's great opinions are treated with the deference which is undoubtedly due them. Admirers of Jefferson might read it as a salutary reminder that even so estimable a man as he was not always right, and that if his hopes for the liberty and happiness of mankind are ultimately realized, the realization will owe much to the ideas and policies of his opponents.

Mr. Boyd presents *Number 7* as "a sort of footnote to [Samuel Flagg] Bemis' *Jay's Treaty*," but this description is rather too modest. Both books treat of the same subject, our foreign policy toward Great Britain from the fall of 1789 to the fall of 1790, and both authors worked with the same documents relating to this subject. These documents (the relevant ones are reprinted in *Number 7*) include several written by Alexander Hamilton. It is in the acceptance and interpretation of these documents that Mr. Boyd's and Mr. Bemis' accounts differ. The latter had accepted the Hamilton documents as the honest reports of a loyal and responsible member of the Cabinet; the former does not. He suggests that this difference in evaluation perhaps stems from different professional functions, and that his own sensitivity in this case is a result of the habitual discipline of editorial scholarship. The editor of "the total corpus of a statesman's papers" (Mr. Boyd is editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*) must consider the authenticity of every document that he examines. It is his first obligation; "his ear must be attuned to the ring of a false note, or he fails in the first test that justifies his existence." In short, the editorial scholar *takes nothing for granted*. And thus it was that this editor sensed a false note in a memorandum and in a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the President. That first sense of something not quite right led to close analysis and dissection of these and related documents, to the exploration of possible explanations with intricate and precise logic, and then to the unqualified conclusion that Hamilton was guilty of deliberate and gross misrepresentation to Washington.

Is Boyd right? And if he is, what is the significance of his disclosures? I believe that the answer to the first question is "Yes." The argument of *Number 7* is too complex to be summarized in a brief review, and therefore only parts of it will be sketched in to illustrate its method and content. It centers around the relationship of Hamilton to Major George Beckwith, a British agent and aide to Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General of Canada. Hamilton was a member of a group of Americans, both in and out of government office, who supported a foreign policy of closer relations with Great Britain. In the fall of 1789, Beckwith made contact with several of these men, including Hamilton (Hamilton was "Number 7" in Beckwith's code, hence the title of the book), and they gave him information on a number of matters, including the division in and out of Congress over what American policy toward Britain should be. At this time, in the first months of the new government, there was no exchange of regular diplomatic missions between the United States and Britain, and until the spring of 1790, we had no Secretary of State. During this interval, Washington sent Gouverneur Morris to London as his special but official representative, one of his objects being to explore the possibilities of securing a commercial treaty that would end the British discrimination against American shipping and trade which had existed since the Revolution as a part of that nation's generally cold, if not hostile, policy toward us.

In the first Congress, Madison had proposed a policy of commercial retaliation against Britain, and though he had been defeated, the issue was not dead. Unless Morris were successful, and/or the British relaxed their unfriendly posture, Madison's "tough" policy was likely to gain support, and if it were enacted into law, Hamilton's domestic financial plans would be jeopardized. Hamilton therefore had strong motives for wanting to ease our relations with Britain; he felt an emotional affinity with the former mother country, and his domestic program depended on continuing trade with it.

The already strained relations between the two countries were threatened with further stress in the summer of 1790. Britain and Spain seemed to be on the verge of war, and if they went over the brink, we would very likely be affected. Britain might decide to attack New Orleans or other Spanish posts on the Mississippi, and want to send troops across United States territory in order to do so. In that event, what should our policy be? In order to make the right decision, we needed accurate information about British intentions and attitudes with respect to us.

It was just at this crucial time of anticipated crisis that Hamilton, according to Mr. Boyd, deliberately gave Washington false information. For he reported, as coming from Beckwith on instructions from Lord Dorchester, what amounted to a major softening in British policy. This contradicted information received from Morris, who reported from London a continuation of the previous "hard" policy. Why the discrepancy in the two reports? Washington, who noted it at once, attributed it to the deviousness of the British. Professor Boyd, with access to more of the documents than President Washington had, attributes it to Hamilton. Hamilton's memorandum to Washington was a report on his conversation with Beckwith, and among other things, he reported Beckwith as having said that Lord Dorchester "had directed him to say that . . . he [Dorchester] had reason to believe that the Cabinet of Great Britain entertained a disposition not only towards a friendly intercourse but towards an alliance with the United States." Boyd compares this statement in Hamilton's report with Lord Dorchester's written instructions to Beckwith: "You will at the same time express my hope, that neither the

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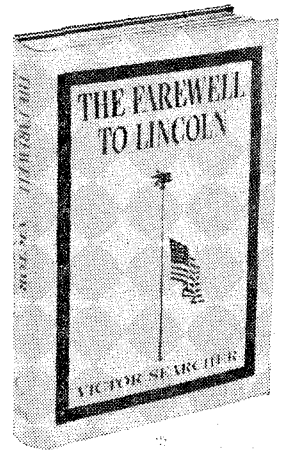

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appearance of a war with Spain, nor its actually taking place, will make any alteration in the good disposition of the United States to establish a firm friendship and Alliance with Great Britain. . . ." Now to the trained and critical eye, and one especially alert to the careful nuances of diplomatic discourse, these two statements say very different things. Dorchester's says no more than "We hope you'll continue to court us." It does not say anything about a British acceptance. But Hamilton's does, and in this it differed from what the President's representative was reporting from London.

Why the double discrepancy—between the Dorchester and Hamilton documents, and between the latter and Gouverneur Morris' report? Could Hamilton have been merely careless in reporting what Beckwith told him, or could he have misunderstood Beckwith? The first seems unlikely. If the British were really expressing a desire for an alliance, they were making a truly major change in policy, and that is not the sort of thing one reports casually. Besides, Boyd argues, Hamilton almost certainly had the Dorchester instructions at hand when he prepared his memorandum. The second alternative—that Hamilton misunderstood Beckwith, perhaps misled by wishful thinking—seems only a little less unlikely to this reviewer. Dorchester's instructions did contain a statement to the effect that in his opinion, "the interests of the United States, in case of a war, may be more effectually served by a junction with Great Britain, than otherwise." But this passage is rendered in Hamilton (as in Dorchester) independently of and quite distinct from the reference to an alliance. Hamilton's words were: "That it was presumed, should a war take place, that the United States would find it to be to their interest to take part with Great Britain rather than with Spain." It therefore seems unlikely that Hamilton confused the "alliance" and "junction" passages in his own mind. Could Beckwith have reported something orally that contradicted or was inconsistent with his instructions from Dorchester? Possibly, but not likely. He showed the instructions to Hamilton, and if there had been a discrepancy, and if Hamilton was ordinarily alert and acting in good faith, he would have noted it and reported it to Washington. The most likely conclusion (I have omitted part of Boyd's argumentation for lack of space) does seem to be the one that Boyd reaches: Hamilton was guilty of deliberate misrepresentation.

I have summarized, with omissions, one count in the indictment in order to indicate the method and structure of Mr. Boyd's case. In presenting it, he is prosecutor, judge and jury, relentless and judicious throughout. Other interpretations of the evidence are possible, and it is to be hoped that counsel for the defense will present counter-argumentation. If it matches the indictment in disciplined imagination and rigorous logic, Americans are in for a fine display of scholarly detective skill.

Because the charges against Hamilton are spectacular, the immediate interest of *Number 7* is in their validity. If they are valid, the significance of the book reaches into a number of areas. There is the matter of Hamilton's personality and character. He has generally been regarded as a man of considerable vanity, but the vanity revealed in this book is of a very profound kind. He did not believe that either the President or the Secretary of State would or could make the right decisions on the basis of the real facts of which he had knowledge. He therefore did not give them those facts, but instead, a false version of them. Was he justified? One can make out a case for him: if he had told Washington what Dorchester had really said (and he had said some things that were almost certain to annoy Washington and enrage Jefferson), the relations between the United States and Britain would perhaps have become exacerbated. He may have reasoned that he was acting as a peacemaker, that he was, in the terms of today, preventing not very satisfactory relations from escalating into something worse, perhaps even into war. It is a plausible case, but only that. Hamilton's vanity led him to underestimate both his colleagues and his superior. For one thing, Washington was not taken in by the misinformation; he smelled a rat immediately, though he mistook the rat's location. For another, it seems highly unlikely that even if Washington, Jefferson and the other members of the Cabinet had believed the British were actually sending out sincere feelers for an alliance, they would have been greatly influenced by such a change of posture. Its motive was too transparent: Britain would not want us on her flank or in the rear if she went to war with Spain and launched an attack on this continent. With one exception, the Cabinet opinions prepared for Washington anticipating the possibility that Britain might send troops across our territory to attack New Orleans all reveal an absolutely hard-, clear-, and level-headed realism: there is nothing "soft" in any of them. But there is in Hamilton's own opinion. He held out the hope that Britain, in return for our friendship, would, after defeating Spain, cede New Orleans to us, though he must have known that Britain had been toying with the idea of using that prospect as bait to detach the Western territories from the Union. For whatever reasons, he was, I think, guilty of wishful thinking, and that in itself is enough to conclude that his

Ticktacktoe

When I became myself I had
to say over and over, "give
your life to a straight line; cross
here and you lose, and if you stay
you gain."

I didn't know once
what it meant to go forward.
So many lines were there to follow:
o's I made, and x's made
by others — not one connecting.

My infant son — it may have nothing
to do with this — my son reaches
and feels, where his legs meet, the line
he finds beyond his straight body.
He looks at me. He is fingering
the soft flesh. He doesn't know.

John Stevens Wade

The Centuries of Peasant Blood in Me

The centuries of peasant blood in me,
Down to the premises of black nails,
Are marvelously busy this bright morning
As I straddle the trench, feeling the flood
Of irrigational red to the packed cells
That stack my shoulders in two piles of earth.
Hands, old as my people, grip the spade.
If the landscape changes, the flesh remains:
Sturdy as the love of ancient labor;
Solid as the ground where the spade falls.

John Stevens Wade

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confidence in the superiority of his judgment over that of his colleagues and the President was not justified.

His action, as Mr. Boyd points out, was flatly inconsistent with the theory of executive power which he had expounded in *The Federalist Papers*. There he had argued vehemently and persuasively for strength and unity in the executive. Indeed, one of the great contributions of the authors and advocates of the Constitution was the development of a *republican* theory of the executive function and its concomitant structure and powers. Yet Hamilton violated his own expressed canons in attempting to usurp the functions of another department, and, above all, in giving false information to the President. Would he have admitted the right or propriety of other members of the Cabinet to act as he did? It seems extremely unlikely. It was the first but not the last time that a Cabinet officer has intrigued behind the President's back, but it was a very grave offense, and is difficult to justify or excuse on grounds either of ethics or expediency. A divided executive, as Washington found to his sorrow, is conducive to great difficulties. A misinformed executive is liable to genuine peril, especially in foreign affairs.

The spectacular character of Mr. Boyd's indictment will perhaps focus attention on an aspect of our early national history that he regards as insufficiently explored, and that is the role of foreign influences. A few months before reading this book, I surveyed much anti-Federalist literature. One theme emerged over and over again—the fear of foreign influence. It was suggested that foreign governments would interest themselves in the election of the President, and that because of the relatively short period of citizenship required for eligibility in the House of Representatives, they might send agents over to become naturalized and then infiltrate the Congress. At the time, I thought these fears somewhat unrealistic if not downright paranoic. They still seem to be exaggerated, but not without some foundation in fact. It is to be hoped that more scholars will follow Mr. Boyd's suggestion, and turn their attention to investigation of foreign interests in domestic politics. It is, after all, or at least it appears to be, an almost inevitable aspect in the development of new nations. We acknowledge that among the recently independent states of today, and their reiterated demand for aid "without strings," there is an ex-

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plicit recognition of the problem. We might increase our understanding of them and ourselves by probing this problem in a comparable stage of our history.

Another and better side of Hamilton is presented in Mr. Konefsky's *John Marshall and Alexander Hamilton.* A new state must devise not only foreign policies to preserve its interests and integrity when confronting other states; it must also, if its constituent basis is a written constitution, devise viable and acceptable interpretations of that constitution, or else amend it or adopt a new one. Mr. Konefsky traces the role of Hamilton and Marshall in achieving the former. Here is the Hamilton who courageously and openly sought to counter what he regarded as the dangerous and "extreme jealousy of power" so widespread in the early years of independence. And here is the Marshall who skillfully used his power as Chief Justice to interpret the Constitution as a bulwark for the rights of private property and to insure the operative supremacy of the national government, its powers and its institutions. The great decisions are reviewed succinctly and judiciously, and their significance portrayed and evaluated. The reader of this book will remember Hamilton for more than the 78th *Federalist,* and Marshall for more than *Marbury* v. *Madison.* Mr. Konefsky is too sophisticated to paint his subjects as exclusive saviors of the Republic. They were, to be sure, a little larger than life size—especially Marshall—but it would perhaps be a sign of pseudo-sophistication to believe that such men are inessential to a new republic.

Dr. Brogan in the Cabbage Patch

AMERICAN ASPECTS. By D. W. Brogan. Harper & Row. 195 pp. $4.

George Dangerfield

A collection of fifteen "occasional papers" on American themes, written between 1951 and 1964, is more apt to suggest confusion than continuity. A single work would have had more chance of appearing stable, because those three old friends—the beginning, the middle and the end—would have been on hand to see that the author didn't rock the boat. But a collection like this, some items of which are truly occasional in the sense of being written for a special occasion, is more at the mercy of temporal flux itself. In a way, there is no boat to rock. "Such as they are," writes Sir Denis Brogan in a charming introduction, "I throw these pieces on the waves." There they float, bobbing and tossing about together, reminding us that everything is in motion. Or, to put it another way, we realize that an acute and sensitive mind, observing the travail of a tumultuous stretch of time, is most unlikely to appear consistent.

Nevertheless, one can detect a habitual approach to America on Brogan's part which, if anything can, will serve to unify this very diverse collection. For this one should go to an essay which is not really occasional, an introduction to *The Education of Henry Adams* called "The Unimportance of Being Adams," written in 1961. (The *Education,* being a great work of art, is timeless and can be examined without the urgency which the author brings, for example, to his contemplation of "the week of Sputnik.") Brogan's essay on Adams is a very fine one, detaching him from the embrace of Spencer, Comte and Darwin, and restoring him (as an alienated soul) to the company of Tolstoy, Ibsen and Flaubert. Adams becomes, in other words, not merely a cranky American genius, but also a world figure. And here, I think, we can see something habitual in Brogan. He always, though not always with such success, endeavors to distinguish between what is unique in America and what is general, what belongs to American history and what belongs to world history, our responsibility to ourselves and our responsibility to mankind.

Brogan, a distinguished political scientist and historian (the two terms are not incompatible), is nothing if not personal in his approach to America. He has known the United States intimately since 1925; he has read, thought and written most fruitfully about American institutions and American events; he has never been a bore or a nuisance; he rarely condescends. It is true that he cannot altogether be acquitted—no foreign observer ever has been acquitted—of writing not only about Americans, but *to* them and *at* them. He does this, however, with such wit, charm, such penetrating and informed good sense that we usually forgive him. He has been, on the whole, Uncle Denis, a just critic but a loving one: a great favorite, you might well say, with his American nephews and nieces. (Nephew Dwight D. Eisenhower, who may not, however, have read it, ought to be very grateful for the letting-off he received in an article reprinted here under the title of "Another President.")

In this collection he is usually Uncle Denis, but not always. In a curious essay called "The American Personality," 1961, I seem to detect the presence of a Reverend D. W. Brogan, a kind of latter-day Whig divine, a throwback to the Reverend Sidney Smith of *Edinburgh Review* fame. "In the four quarters of the globe," wrote the Reverend Sidney in 1819, "who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue?" "Not many relics of the American past," writes the Reverend Denis in 1961, "are intrinsically beautiful or interesting. They are important because they are part of the American past. They should be studied as such, but that study should not be palmed off on the young as an aesthetic experience." But sometimes it *is* an aesthetic experience; and it seems a little hard on the young to empty their past of aesthetic content in this puritanical, I might say utilitarian, fashion. Or again, "The student of American architecture ought to be consistently reminded of this question of scale, asked to compare the work of the best American architects with that of Wren or Fischer von Erlach or Cameron. If he does he will discover that not until the late 19th century do we get architecture and architects in America who are interesting in the history of achievement or taste. . . ." Curiouser and curiouser. It was Seybert's *Statistical Annals,* a nationalist work, which touched off the Reverend Sidney; I can't imagine what provoked the Reverend Denis.

In another departure, Brogan becomes Dr. Brogan, the eminent specialist, who is not called in (or does not call himself in) unless the patient is pretty sick. You will discover him in "The End of Illusion?," 1958, an article on "the impact of the Sputnik." Now this article has many sensible things to say; but the reader may observe

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George Dangerfield is the author, most recently, of The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828 (*Harper & Row*). *His other books include* Chancellor Robert E. Livingston of New York *and* The Era of Good Feelings (*both Harcourt, Brace*).

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with regret Dr. Brogan's resemblance to another famous physician, Trollope's Dr. Fillgrave, whose ministrations were more likely to bury a patient than to raise him. For the first time, says Dr. Brogan, he suspects that "in the race for winning the minds of the world by hope and *by fear* (italics inserted) the United States may be the loser. For the first time, in my thirty years study of the American way of life, I am not convinced that it, at the moment, has what it takes to win the contest." *At the moment* is good manners, or at least good bedside manners: but what is his prescription for recovery? Its ingredients are sound enough—less blind faith in Yankee know-how and the omnicompetence of American businessmen, less McCarthyism, more and better education: yet these are not directed toward improving the social environment (the true answer to Sputnik); they are seen as reforms in the interest of technological supremacy. It is not through hope, but through fear, that the patient is to recover his mastery of the minds of the world. "What the United States needs, today, far more than businessmen, is statesmen conscious of the bitter truth that the survival of the United States is in danger—and that in this duel the United States no longer has the choice of weapons." Dr. Fillgrave's funerary eloquence was famous throughout Barchester, but I doubt if even Dr. Fillgrave was as eloquent as this.

Of course, "The End of Illusion?" is in every sense an occasional piece, and I cannot believe that Brogan would have written it today; but he has seen fit to reprint it, and therefore I presume he thinks that there is something in it. I would be the last to say that there isn't, but I cannot help feeling that the emphasis is wrong. When Brogan says that the basic scientist, the man with the "original, questing, unorthodox" mind, needs "a world, a system in which he feels at home," who would not agree? The obvious point I would venture to make, and it is not made in this essay, is that the original, questing, unorthodox mind also needs to feel at home in the liberal arts college and the high school history class.

But let us return to Brogan in his avuncular role. The reader of this collection will notice that among recent events which have inspired a piece from Dr. Brogan, the case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is not among them. The school desegregation case has called forth several indirect comments in this essay or that, only one of which—again in "The End of Illusion?"—might be described as inadequate. ("Some controversies like those over the Bricker Amendment and over school segregation are too bitterly funny in the present age to be productive of easy laughter.") Yet the case does rather profoundly haunt the collection, and it might be of some interest to inquire why.

In a good first essay called "The Presidency," 1964, Brogan writes that "the Civil War was a triumph won at an immense expenditure of blood and . . . national feeling—a loss from which the United States is still suffering, and of which it is indeed possible that President Kennedy's assassination is one of the long-term consequences." What does this mean? In his most ambitious essay, a piece called "A Fresh Appraisal of the Civil War," 1960, Brogan suggests that in the hierarchy of causes for the Civil War slavery was high at the top: no slavery, no war. This is a conservative, anti-revisionist judgment which I believe to be true: while nobody (as Brogan says) puts much credit in "the legend of an aggressive slavocracy," who can forget the role that an aggressive Southern White Supremacy played in secession? And any study of the ante-bellum free Negro will show that white supremacy was not confined to the South. It was slavery's vile companion while slavery flourished, and when slavery was suppressed by force and fiat, it became slavery's flourishing legatee. It was not until the New Deal, and then World War II, that the Negro in America began to see some hope of vanquishing the degraded myth that he was biologically, culturally and socially the inferior of the white man. *Brown* v. *Board of Education* made 1954 a great year in the history of this battle: but the many varieties of hatred which it aroused (and not only in the South) should have reminded us that whatever the Civil War may have registered in the way of triumph for the Union and for expansion, its consequences have elsewhere been disastrous. It was in the climate of hatred aroused particularly by *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and by all the implications of that great decision, that a diseased mind was compelled to assassinate John F. Kennedy; and Kennedy became a martyr to equality, just as Lincoln before him had been a martyr to freedom. This, I am sure, is what Brogan

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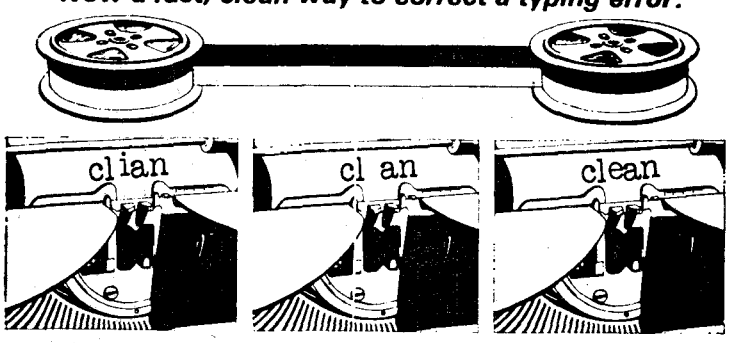

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meant when he wrote that Kennedy's assassination was one of the long-term consequences of the Civil War.

In his "Fresh Appraisal," however, Brogan—although the essay is deeply reflective and in all respects worth reading—happened to be addressing himself to the coming Civil War centennial. Hard things could be said; but the occasion itself was genial. "We can be sure," he writes, "that for the overwhelming majority of Americans the flood of centennial celebrations will bring little bitterness. . . . But we should remember that this 'era of good feeling' dates from this century." I have turned these words upside down and every which way and all they convey to me is that the centennial "celebrations" were about as mindless as an American Legion convention; and I think that they were. At any rate, I simply cannot believe that Brogan would have written in this way after November, 1963; for the assassination taught that we have in a sense all lost the Civil War; which is scarcely grounds for a celebration, though it might suggest a day of mourning.

Further, I think we should disagree with Brogan when he writes "the world picture of America, the American picture of America is"—because of the Civil War—"deeply different, more impressive, more attractive than if it had been one long success story." He surrounds this statement with many humane qualifications, but still he has made it. I do not believe that the American antebellum past was one long success story; I believe that it was, in some respects, like all other national pasts in some respects, tragically unsuccessful. I do not believe that any nation requires a prolonged blood-and-disease letting before it can attain real dignity among the family of nations. After 1962 and 1963, we must say goodby to all that.

It is, I am aware, contextually a bit unjust to Brogan to pick out just one or two points in one or two pieces. Readers of this review, however, will already know that he is a humane and enlightened man, and that *American Aspects* is a book to be read by all means. As Brogan puts it, "My main business, in more than an academic sense, has been, for most of my adult life, studying the American people, their institutions and achievements, and explaining and expounding those achievements and institutions to an often sceptical and sometimes hostile audience in Britain and other parts of Europe." If at times he sounds querulous here, and at times strident, we should recall with gratitude that he has been doing and still is doing the work of an Atlas, for few nations have been so grievously misunderstood as the United States. Even Atlas' shoulders (not to mention his disposition) became, we are told, now and then a little sore.

Iran Without Veils

PERSIAN LIONS, PERSIAN LAMBS: An American's Odyssey In Iran. By Curtis Harnack. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 279 pp. $5.95.

F. M. Esfandiary

It is refreshing to see one's country through the perceptive eyes of a foreigner. The author, Curtis Harnack, is an American who spent a year in Iran as a Fulbright teacher of English. He is not the visitor who views every cluster of trees as a fabled oasis, confuses the croaking of hungry crows for the singing of nightingales and who, on coming upon a poverty-stricken village where men fester in dismal, foul-smelling habitations, holds his nose and mutters, "How beautiful, how mystical. How close these Biblical people live to nature and to earth. I have always wanted to come here and see this spiritual way of life."

Curtis Harnack has recorded his impressions of his one-year stay in Tabriz, Iran, with directness and realism, with humor, insight and fellow feeling. Iranians will no doubt feel offended that "bad things" have been written about their country, that their shortcomings have been exposed. But it is time we of the Middle East reacted rationally to analyses of our countries. If Americans are now coming out of their isolationism, if they are able to face shortcomings in their own culture, then surely, we too, can at last disembarrass ourselves of our shackling sense of shame and hypersensitivity. It is, in part, this hypersensitivity that has isolated us, emotionally as well as culturally and politically. Afraid of being "exposed," and thus incurring shame or punishment, we have learned to withdraw, to hide within ourselves. It is time we heeded our old saying: He who coughs alone, will find no cure.

One young Iranian, relatively unafraid of ventilating his resentments, tells the author that he hopes some day he will be rich and powerful, and he adds, "If you are rich, you must also be powerful. In Iran a bribe can do anything. You may own a beautiful home, furnished with carpets and expensive things. But one night comes a knock on the door. It is the police, and they have in their hands papers showing that your house is no longer yours, that nothing you thought you owned is yours—and what are you to do? Your position in this country is never sure. You must be so powerful that others cannot take your money away from you or take what you have . . . the police are everywhere. Even at the school . . . spies are in every classroom, listening to all that is said."

These telling comments reveal deep anxieties and insecurity which are reactions not only to a highly repressive political regime but to a whole way of life, to a social system which is persecutory at all levels. The desire to be rich and powerful, the fear of police, the anxiety of suddenly losing everything, the inability to trust anyone—to

F. M. Esfandiary is an Iranian who writes on Middle Eastern social problems for both English and Iranian publications. He has written three novels set in the Middle East, Day of Sacrifice, *published by Obolensky;* The Beggar *and* Identity Card *will be published here shortly.*

Voix-de-la-Rose

Voix-de-la-Rose cause dans le soir d'argent
and so it is said and the tones of it
in the saying

are so
just so
forever

in the garden where I am staying
not far from you not far
just here where the dark is silver.

Hayden Carruth

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be sure, all these are emotions of a people living in a police state. In a socially backward country like Iran, they also reflect the anxieties of a people who, from their childhood, are subjected to relentless familial, scholastic, psychological, sexual, religious and economic pressures as well. Here is a people, highly talented and with vast potential, coerced into the strait jacket of rigid conformity, deprived of the right to make decisions, subjugated to the whims of autocratic family elders, teachers, husbands, absentee landlords and absolute leaders. It is therefore not surprising that many of the young Iranians with whom the author speaks reiterate the wish to "go to another country," to go "far away."

Tensions in the interpersonal relationships of the people, their passivity and rebelliousness, their solidarities, sexual privation, sadnesses, their valiant efforts to laugh and appear gay in the face of all the inexorable pressures, tragedies, molestations of body and soul—all these the author recounts with insight and sensitivity. Here are school children frenetically memorizing word for word whole chapters merely to pass examinations; attractive prostitutes accommodating sexually starved students and others; wrestlers competing with obvious reluctance and lack of aggressiveness, kissing frequently—"that is the trouble with sports contests, someone must lose," says one of them. Here too, are Hossein and Abbas and Ruben and Darius, young students with whom the author—their instructor—fraternizes, and they, unaccustomed to such reciprocal relationships with elders and teachers, develop genuine love and respect for him. Then there is Hawley, the loud-voiced, cantankerous American who claims he can do anything—"lick anybody . . . seduce any woman, hunt the fiercest game"—but whose bravado camouflages an embarrassed mousiness. Among the author's many Iranian friends is a resourceful self-confident leftist teacher who invites Mr. Harnack to his village and shabby hut, offers him a presentable meal he can hardly afford, and with characteristic Middle Eastern civility, tells him: "This food is really not good, it is bad; it'll make you sick." The self-effacing civility proves embarrassingly correct. The American does fall sick.

Occasionally the author is bitten by the local bug of mysticism: "They were Persian cats, long-haired, yellow-eyed, and so powerful was their mysterious cat-presence, that even while working at my desk, back turned, I could tell when one of them had come to look."

I also cannot help wishing that the author had used the name "Iran" instead of "Persia." It seems to me that Persia, a name of Greek origin, with romanticized historical associations in the Western mind, appeals chiefly to those Europeans and Americans who still wallow in fantasies of the distant past. For centuries Iranians have called their country Iran, and it seems to me that, as a rule, those who are able to see our country realistically, and are more preoccupied with its present and its future, call it by its correct name. If you refused to call a man whose name is Dr. Amini by his correct name, and insisted on addressing him as King Xerxes or Omar Khayyam, you are probably not just giving him an incorrect name, but imputing to him a false identity as well. You are not viewing him as he really is and therefore cannot expect to understand him. My quarrel is not over a mere name, but over what that name has come to symbolize, and the unhealthy attitudes which the use of it clearly reflects.

Mr. Harnack is justified in castigating his fellow Americans for self-righteousness, but himself succumbs to it. Riding in a droshky he notes that "the driver . . . shouted at his scrawny team of horses and flailed their bony hides with a wicked-looking whip. The cruel, sadistic pleasure showing in the driver's face was disgusting, and I shouted for him to slow down. . . ." I sympathize with the author's compassion for the animals but, like many other indignant visitors to these countries, he overlooks his own cruelty to animals. Earlier in the book, he has devoted a whole chapter to a hunting expedition, described in exasperating detail, in which two Europeans and several Americans, including himself, take part. "The two (American) sergeants straggled into camp empty-handed, with a long, bitter tale of how their Iranian guides had kept shouting and dancing about, scaring off every mouflon in sight. Finally, they had gotten so angry at the shepherds they had chased them away, firing over their heads to scare hell out of them. 'You should have seen them run! God, you should've seen 'em go!' " Later one of the hunters shoots a mouflon. "The small female . . . had been shot through the head and now lay sprawled in the weeds, crumpled over in itself, a sickly pile of fleece-covered bones. . . ."

Unlike other foreigners in Tabriz, Harnack goes out of his way to meet Iranians and others. He even invites an improverished Russian music teacher to his room and plays Bach and Beethoven records for him. In gratitude, the Russian invites his host to the cinema. After the Fred Astaire film, the Russian and the American walk along the crowded main boulevard arms linked, as is the custom in that area. The townspeople are taken aback, because Americans and Russians are rarely seen together and never so intimately. Roger Thompson, an American, had earlier explained to the author that "complete severance of social relationships was the only proper and honorable course for Americans to follow, since the Soviet men in the city were 'only spies, here to keep an eye on what's happening. They're in close contact with the Kremlin.' " With reassuring candor, Harnack adds, "As if Thompson himself were not in direct communication with Washington."

Later, Roger Thompson, who is in Iran doing "dirty work," invites a young Iranian to his house and engages him in debate. Earlier, the Iranian had voiced an often heard complaint: "Do you know what all these tanks and guns are for? These military things from America? They are to keep Iran strong, says the regime, to prevent outsiders from invad-

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ing us. But can you compare Iran's military force with Russia's? . . . Ridiculous. The guns are to protect the regime—and they would shoot the people if necessary, as they did in 1946 and 1952. Citizens were shot down in the streets. This is what we have to thank America for. Are you surprised that we are not grateful?" Thompson reports him to the secret police and the Iranian is forthwith arrested.

It is unfortunate that often the good will, the trust, the fellow feeling that dedicated Peace Corps volunteers, CARE officials and other sober-minded Americans generate among less fortunate peoples, are undone by the Thompsons and the Hawleys who carry with them all the bigotries, the hatred and the destructiveness which their own deficient upbringing had foisted upon them, and which these peoples, already encumbered with maledictions of their own, can well do without.

Curtis Harnack's fine book proves the need for more and more such "American Odysseys" abroad. In the Middle East, these contacts are helping the inhabitants to acquire a new self-image, a confidence in their own dignity and worth, which in turn helps them reverse their attitude to authority and tradition, and encourages them to subdue the age-old miasmic belief that their suffering, their destitution are their punishment or their irreversible destiny. Americans, too, benefit from these contacts—they are rapidly outgrowing the romanticism, self-righteousness and provincialism in which they have been too long sequestered.

The Northness of North

NORTH WINTER. By Hayden Carruth. Prairie Press. $4.50.

Jim Harrison

Hayden Carruth's first book, *The Crow and the Heart,* was an accomplished, highly mannered collection of verse, the sort of book one had learned to expect from the capable assistant professors who wrote within the baroque orthodoxy of the time (1946-59). With the exception of the sequence, "The Asylum," the poems were typically claustrophobic, archly poetic, derivative, anonymous; among these qualities there was little room left for poetry.

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In *Journey to a Known Place,* a long poem in four parts published by New Directions, Carruth made abrupt change. The work is harrowing, violent, expansive and deeply individual. One has difficulty in believing that it was written by the same poet who wrote *The Crow and the Heart. Norfolk Poems* signaled another change and a successful one—there are seven fine poems out of a possible twenty in the book, which in poetry is akin to batting over .400 for a season in the National League. The poems are serene, luminous, the subjects not at all contrived. The imaginary birds in "The Wild Swans at Norfolk" fly "pounding/ the blocks of air. . . ." And in "Comparative Iconography," there is a terseness worthy of the later Yeats:

Give it what name you choose,
In all lands the female symbol is a hole,
And where I come from the people use,
The eye-socket of a skull.

North Winter has all the good qualities of the *Norfolk Poems* but is poetry of a higher sort. A single poem in a sequence of fifty-eight parts, it is as cold, clear and sometimes dazzling as its nominal subject. There's nothing in it of "Vermont Landscapes," the overweening idea of nature as a constant source of delight. The book as a whole gives one the "northness" of north, if that is possible, as if in an immense block of the purest, most transparent ice one could see the figures of the poem, the separate parts, moving freely in a deathly coldness.

Many of the sections of *North Winter* are disturbing in the way that only very good poems can be:

18

The frozen
brook sprawls
in sunlight
a tree of glass
uprooted.

21

The dog flies with his ears
across the snow carrying a
deer's legbone in his jaws
the bone flops threejointedly
and the little hoof dances
delicately in the snow.

Here the subjects are not described but revealed. The sequence does not resemble our collective notion of poetry too closely. Throughout the book there is a texture of surprise, and we are jolted because we did not anticipate either the thought or the images. Carruth, though, does not sacrifice craftsmanship for the more obvious forms of originality; the work is finely controlled, the lines clean and hard, but not to the point where the sense of control obtrudes and draws attention away from the poem itself.

In tracing the course of the season the book suggests the equivalencies, the "correspondences," between "Winter" and the winter occurring within the poet. But this is done with extreme subtlety and when spring, the thaw, is approached, where a lesser poet might speak facilely of renewal or rebirth, Carruth maintains his austerity, and the change in him is only gradually perceptible.

One of Carruth's main strengths seems to be his vulnerability; he remains completely open and plastic while so many poets, somewhat like predatory animals, notice only that which threatens or is directly concerned with their role as poets. This is a strength because it allows Carruth in *North Winter* to leap further into the darkness, to follow a particular twist of his consciousness, and to gamble on this twist and make it yield a poem.

Hayden Carruth's four books reveal that he is able to progressively regenerate himself; from a writer of what might aptly be called "magazine verse," the rather usual product of the quarterlies, he has become a substantial poet, one of the finest we have. In *North Winter* we have a unified sequence forming a single, long poem. In itself this is a rare thing in our time: that the poem is completely successful is nothing short of a triumph.

Jim Harrison is a poet whose first book will be published by Norton in the fall.

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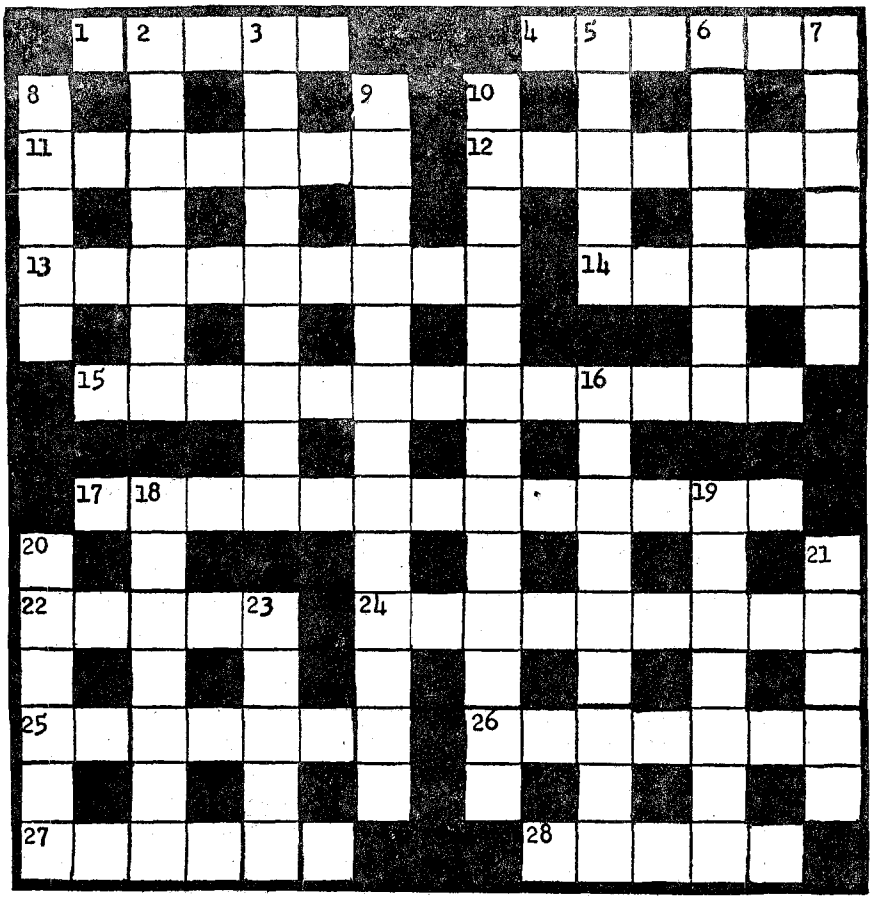
Crossword Puzzle No. 1093

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Who says it doesn't hurt to be clever! (5)
4 Lots of animals and flowers, we hear. (6)
11 See 14 across
12 It's common with incorrect color to run somewhat erratically. (7)
13 Proving you can get a good golf score even in a sort of larch thicket. (9)
14 and 11 It's rather pleasant to have almost havens in one's garden, perhaps. (5, 7)
15 Cancer isn't necessarily associated with such growth. (8, 5)
17 On the down-grade, hence in a hurry to get the previous two answers started? (7, 2, 4)
22 Burst forth, and scatter up the contents. (5)
24 Denied a gent a bed (when it wasn't properly made). (9)
25 A vessel in the face of some things is made every day. (7)
26 Ben Hur, I find, as a sort of historian. (7)
27 and 28 Canary fish? (Found underfoot, when young.) (6, 5)

DOWN:

2 A month pretty likely to indicate a fashionable spot. (7)
3 If one does, another point is added. (9)
5 Personally directs the star performers? (5)
6 The winner doesn't gain much in such a victory, proving no gentleman, and without moral dignity. (7)
7 They might be bracing walks, if one is trying to impress. (6)
8 Certainly not the simple truth, as one might imagine. (5)
9 Emblematic of the bald type? (8, 5)
10 and 16 Parvus and oligotero, attributed to Shakespeare? (5, 5, 3, 4, 5)
18 Such a thing doesn't imply constant practice. (7)
19 Give someone the responsibility to have the test run somehow? (7)
20 Is the nurse formally present. (6)
21 Notice what might be found in mine is worship? (5)
23 Could one be past being under a strain? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1092

ACROSS: 1 Basic English; 9 Overruling; 10 Bomb; 11 Entailed; 12 Nature; 13 Ensue; 15 Rooftree; 16 Moreover; 19 Stoic; 21 Barrel; 22 Proverbs; 24 Etui; 25 Primordial; 26 Rediscovered: DOWN: 2 Advance royalty; 3 Inroads; 4 Equal; 5 Grinder; 6 Ingenious; 7 Habitat; 8 Emergency brake; 14 Enveloped; 17 Earlier; 18 Replies; 20 Overdue; 23 Ovolo.

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